Pagagos in the Cotton Fields

1950

by

Henry F. Dobyns

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Introduction

000 Time is catching up with the Papago Indians. In 1700
[23] they didn't have domestic animals (save the dog), any
[24] plants domesticated in the Old World, any knowledge of
the wheel, and looked and acted very much like naked savages. They started catching up with the Europeans who intruded into their desert domain then, and have progressed through crisis after crisis successfully. But after 250 years gaining, it looks as though they may be slipping back in their race against us.

These dark-skinned natives live in a region where the human picture is repainted in lighter hues every year. Thousands of white-skinned Anglos move to the Southwest from other parts of the country seeking health, retirement, relaxation, or work. Once a Southwesterner was very different from people in the rest of the U. S.– now he is usually just someone from somewhere else.

177 As the region fills up with Anglos who are very much
648 alike, the people who were here before are profoundly affected. For many decades Spanish-Americans and Indians were too isolated to be much changed by a growing flood
[491] of Anglo immigration. But better roads made them accessible to tourists seeking strange sights, and drew for them a distorted picture of Anglo society and ways. Distorted as it was, it helped balance the strange picture sketched by the U. S. Indian Bureau's handful of employees who were almost the only Anglos Indians saw for decades.

177 648 [161] [464] During the decade before 1950 the population of the Southwest leaped about 50 per cent. Now most Indians are no longer isolated. They have numerous white neighbors even in rural areas--except on some very large reservations. From many small reserves Indians commute to work in large Anglo cities. Southwestern natives are in much closer contact with large numbers of Anglos than ever before. They are exposed to more Anglo culture, and can learn and are learning more about it and adopting more of it. Indians in the region are changing rapidly in thoughts and action.

[464] Southwestern Indians also have behind them now nearly two decades of wide-spread experience at wage labor. First emergency work relief programs in the 1930's recruited them. Then many young men and women served in the armed forces, and defense industries pulled reservation dwellers away from their homes into the war-time manpower vaccuum.

> "With the advent of war. Papago were drafted, and both men and women began to leave the Reservation in large numbers to work in the cotton fields, ranches, mines, railroads, and airplane factories. The effect of this new work pattern will be far-reaching."*

177 464 648 A few years working along side Anglos in their own surroundings for equal wages taught formerly unsophisticated Indians more about Anglos and their culture than

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**Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 27.*

177 464 648 decades of tutelage by the Indian Bureau and tourists. And more Indians were affected than ever before--a quarter of the hitherto ultra-isolated Navahos; all the men in some Pueblos in New Mexico. Defense workers and servicemen learned new standards of living and new modes of behavior.

161 [433] At the war's end they returned to inadequate reservation lands. For Indian population in the Southwest had leaped far beyond the human carrying capacity of the reserves--small remnants of original Indian territory held in trust for them by the government. While many smaller tribes stabilized at their size of 50 years ago, larger groups are rapidly increasing even though Anglo immigration submerged the total Indian minority ever deeper.

311 433 177 221 [464] At the same time the Southwestern Indian land base deteriorated in quality so it could support fewer people, because of overgrazing, erosion, and other causes.

> "Faced by these increasing difficulties, many Papago families began regularly to migrate off the reservation to pick cotton and engage in other seasonal wage work during the winter months, while they retained permanent homes in their 'fields' villages where they spent the remainder of the year farming and herding. In time a new dual residence and economy pattern developed among the Papago. [182] By reinforcing the rhythmic balance of traditional culture and personality structures the new pattern apparently met, to a certain extent, both immediate economic needs . . . and deep-rooted socio-psychological needs for security and opportunity for constructive development."*

**Thompson, 1951, p. 71.*

657 The Indians of the Southwest solved their dilemma by seeking work to support themselves while they struggled for greater political power (even while becoming an ever smaller minority in the total population), and pled with Congress for huge appropriations to rehabilitate their abused reservation lands.

The Indian Bureau attacked the economic problem where its officials recognised the situation and could with funds allotted by Congress. Bureau administrators know wages from agricultural harvesting contribute a large share to Southwestern Indian income. They have long wanted more exact knowledge of effects upon natives produced by their experience in the fields, and the role Indians play in the economy of Southwestern agriculture.

121 [122] Accurate knowledge is essential for intelligent and effective administration. Recognizing this fact, the Indian Bureau agreed to a grant to the University of Arizona's Department of Anthropology for an attack on one phase of the problem.

This report is the result. It is a report on the role of one Southwestern Indian tribe in the cotton harvest on Anglo-owned irrigated lands near its tribal reserves. It is a picture in microcosm of the economics of all Indians of the region at mid-century,except for specific tribal peculiarities inherent in a different culture and location. It is an example of adjustment of an Indian tribe to demands arising from close and intimate contact with an increasing Anglo population majority, and to their insufficient land base.

114 122 The information reported herein was mostly gathered first-hand by the auther, primarily between October 1 and December 15, 1950, under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona. Dr. Emil W. Haury, Head of the Department, furnished greatly appreciated encouragement and arranged for film to make a photographic record. Dr. Edward H. Spicer, Professor of Anthropology, guided the research and reporting after furnishing the original inspiration for the project and proposing it to the Indian Bureau. Any deficiencies in this report —and there are many— are not the responsibility of these men. They are due to the writer's failure to investigate as well as he has been trained to do, and a lack of sufficient funds to investigate as thoroughly as he would have preferred. This last deficiency may be charged to the failure of the American public to appreciate the necessity for social research to sound public administration, as expressed in failure of Congress to appropriate to the Indian Bureau adequate research monies.

122 For their assistance in making this reqort as good as it may be, the writer is grateful to Drs. Spicer and Haury. I am indebted to the U. S. Indian Bureau and Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Pottenger for help in financing my research, and to the Board of Regents of the University and State Colleges of Arizona for its approval of the project. My thanks also go to the Anthropology Club at the Univesity of Arizona for use of its mimeographing facilities for quick preparation of this paper. [115] *Principal credit for any excellences in this report belongs to the farmers and the Papagos who patiently answered many questions.*

I wish to emphasize that the STATEMENTS IN THIS REPORT ARE PURELY MY OWN, and in no way reflect opinions of the sponsors of the research on which they are based. This paper was written as a report *to* the Indian Bureau. Presumably it will be used by Bureau administrators to form judgements and policy, but it in no way represents their present opinions.

One word should be added about footnotes. There seem to be many in this report. They may generally be ignored, since they are documentary citations. Whenever possible, a text statement has been backed with a footnote denoting the sample on which the statement is based, so administrators or scientists reading this papes critically may judge for themselves the probability of accuracy.

H. F. D.

Tucson, Arizona
June, 1951

WHAT--this report is about--COTTON

464 Probably 2000 Papago Indians leave the lands held in trust for them by the government each year to work for farmers in irrigated valleys east and north of their reservations.[1] By far the largest number perform the hand-labor necessary to grow and especially to harvest cotton, the most important crop in Arizona. 000 Cotton brought in 43% of the state's agricultural income in 1950,[2] selling for nearly 120 million dollars.[3]

Cotton has a long history of hand-labor, but in southern Arizona--seventh ranking cotton producer in 1950[4]--its cultivation is as highly mechanized as anywhere in the world. Carey McWilliams' characterization of the California cotton farmer applies equally to most Arizona cotton barons:

> "Ol' Massa in these parts is a precision farmer and agricultural or farm-commodity politician, a plunger, a soil-robber, and, above all, a smart operator. He combines a Western toughness and taste for gambling with a remarkable willingness to experiment with technological innovation, and he finds ...the funds for huge capital investments."[5]

In Arizona he is frequently a water-robber also, exhausting the underground reservoir of liquid accumulated over many decades, or perhaps centuries.

A huge investment in machinery typifies Arizona cotton farms. The farmer uses crawler tractors with huge sub-soilers and plows and discs to break and pulverize the sandy alluvial soils with their high mineral content. He plants seeds of cotton strains specially bred for arid Arizona. Growing plants are little subject to weather vagaries, for the growing

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[1] See Appendix II.

[2] Barr, 1951, p. 5.

[3] Lint valuation $101,868,000; seed valuation $18,715,000. Arizona Daily Star, May 20, 1951, p. 1.

[4] Barr, 1951, p. 6.

[5] McWilliams, 1951, p. 130.

000 season stretches from March to November, and water is supplied artificially. It flows from man-made dams in the mountains through huge canals, or from gigantic pumps with electric, diesel, or natural gas engines to raise the precious liquid from fast-failing underground reservoirs.

Arizona's cotton gamblers must still hire men to irrigate. A small dam of sticks covered with canvas--or nowadays plastic--is anchored with earth to raise the water level in the lateral ditch so it will run into the field rows. Recently metal or rubber siphons to carry the water over the bank have relieved irrigators of the task of breaking and closing the ditch bank at every row, and upped the farmer's investment even more.

While the cotton plants are low enough for a wheel tractor to clear them, the farmers power-cultivate their fields. But the task of thinning the plants in the row and keeping the weeds down has long been a job for people with hoes, the process known as "cotton chopping." Now a machine developed for thinning sugar beets is being used to thin cotton plants.[1] Weeding can be done with flame-throwers,[2] or with chemical weed killers. Cross-cultivating the cotton cuts down on weeding and thinning.[3] In the heat of late summer, yellow blossoms form tight green bolls (seed pods) which begin to burst into brilliant white puffs scattered through lush green foliage in the cotton fields. Then the dirty, hard work of harvesting calls for more and more hand labor. Mechanization of the other processes involved in cotton growing allows a few men to grow cotton requiring hundreds to harvest. Each boll must be picked out individually. Although one doesn't weigh much, boll after boll mounts up until a picker drags a hundred pounds of cotton behind him in a canvas sack suspended from his shoulder or waist by a wide strap.

When a picker has filled his sack, he hoists it to his shoulder and carries it out to the field edge to weigh. A scale with chain, rope, or leather strap to catch the sack is suspended from a 2x4 tripod. A weighman--sometimes the grower, usually one of his

[Text continues on P. 10]

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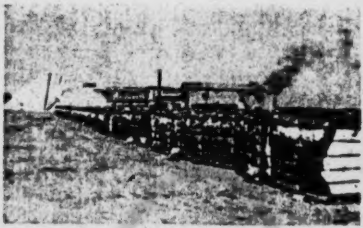
[1] Arizona Farmer, May 13, 1950.
[2] Raper, 1946, p. 14.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Cotton is harvested boll by boll . . . handful by handful . . .

and weighed . . . sometimes by another Papago whom the grower calls "chief" . . .

And the picker is paid $3.00 for each 100 pounds . . . and lugs his heavy sack up a tall ladder to dump it in a trailer . . .



which is pulled to a gin where seeds and trash are removed from the fiber, which is baled and stored.

000 employees--pays the picker or records his weight of cotton some way, and the picker climbs a ladder with his heavy load onto a high trailer into which he dumps his cotton. Another employee tramps the fluffy stuff down to make a good tight load.

When filled, the trailer is pulled to the gin behind one of the farmer's trucks. There leaves, trash and dirt inadvertently (and sometimes deliberately to make more weight) mixed in by pickers are mostly removed by Mitchell cleaners. Arizona cotton barons using mechanical cotton pickers are beginning to move these cleaners to the fields to improve the sales price of their fiber.[1] Then the seeds are separated from the fiber, and the lint of each farmer is baled in approximately 500-pound (479) lots--the saleable part of 1,400 pounds of lint, seeds, and trash that came in on the trailer.[2] If the cotton was one of the newer quality varities--Acala 44 or Acala 28--a colored streamer of cloth was usually inserted to identify the bale in 1950, for eastern textile mills paid a 2¢ premium over their prices for the older variety P18c.[3] In the past, mills paid less for Arizona irrigated cotton because it did not spin as well as unirrigated fiber grown in the South. But a new era has dawned with perfection of Acala 44 and 28 and Arizona's cotton plungers are following the lead of their close kin in California by planting one high-yield, high-quality variety only in each cotton-growing area.

The bale of cotton fiber is compressed for easier shipping and insect control, and then stored or marketed. After the months of planting, irrigating, cultivating, and picking, the state's cotton farmers had produced the highest yield per acre in the country in 1950. Their 890 pounds per acre of upland cotton was well over California's 770 pound per acre figure and the 265 pound national average.[4] Their high yield resulted from their heavy investment in machinery, fertilization, nearly absolute control of growing conditions, a willingness to deplete failing water reserves, and especially from

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[1] Arizona Farmer, Oct. 14 , 1950.
[2] There are 1400 pounds of seed cotton per bale according to Barr, 1951, p. 8, Table 2.
[3] Barr, 1951, p. 7; Hathorn, 1950a and 1950b; Arizona Farmer, Aug. 5, 1950.
[4] Barr, 1951, p. 5.

000 planting varieties of cotton bred for the area. By mining their soil of essential nutrients and robbing the state's shrinking underground water reserves, Arizona's cotton farmers produced 87% of their previous year's crop on only 69% of the acreage.[1]

But the best news to Arizona cotton gamblers who were casting about for some new market early in the season was the skyrocketing cotton price which hit its highest level since 1918 and 1919--43.1¢, nearly double what the 1949 crop brought (27.4¢).[2] All bets on cotton in Arizona paid off handsomely in 1950.

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, May 20, 1951.
[2] Ibid.

WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

101 This report is concerned specifically with the
[121] role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over
7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican border.
[197] These natives speak a Piman language closely
related to others spoken from the Gila River south
to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call themselves
the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

101 A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican
361 side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--
131 villages with houses scattered barely within sight of
each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts
with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic
existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their
[185] lands. They are said to have given up their Indian
heritage and are waiting passively to die.

101 The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are
[186] a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few
hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo
[464] cities. They have chosen to break away from their
Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children
[177] a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American society,
[891] especially by affording them a formal education
in public schools.

657 Most of the Desert People, however, live in
423 rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S.
[131] from their former territories. The San Xavier
community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by
Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre
reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms,
and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until
Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the
[312] water table--20 feet below surface) and now is irrigated
from wells. Most of it was allotted to individuals,
and the useable agricultural and range land
[311] is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its
use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the
[428] fractionalization of holdings through inheritance.
Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to
recognize old use-rights more than the legal allotment
system.

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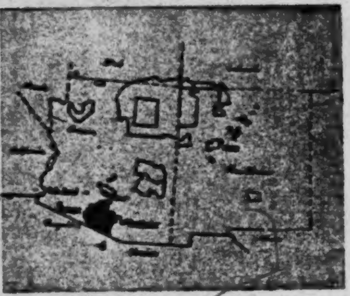

Lands held in trust for Indian Indian tribes by the U. S. government in the Southwest. (Papago reservations in black.)

Papago women playing at the ancient game of taka, which resembles field hockey.

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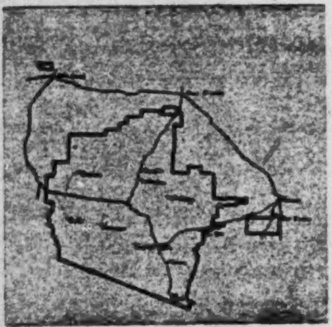

The Papago, Gila Bend and San Xavier reservations and their highway connections.

Chairman of the Papago Tribal Council (far left of group) joins in ceremonies opening the last section of paved road across the main reservation joining Tucson and Ajo.

131 A few Desert People live on a tiny 10,235 acre
reserve at Gila Bend set aside in 1912 by Executive
657 Order--leaving the village outside the reserved
312 area! Some of this land could once be irrigated
by surface flow from the Gila River which is now
[311] impounded far upstream, and none is farmed now.

A few Papagos live on the Maricopa Indian Reservation upstream under the Pima Indian Agency on lands partially irrigated by pumps tapping the underground flow.

The greatest number of the Desert People live
on the 2,773,896 acre Papago Indian Reservation
running north from the Mexican border within a few
miles of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Only a few
hundred acres at the northern tip of the reserve
projecting into the Gila River valley can be irri-
[133] gated by pumped water. There is no running surface
stream in the entire area. An irrigation of sorts
[433] using flood waters from late summer rains has been
practiced for unknown centuries by the Desert
People to raise subsistence crops to supplement
the surprising variety of foods gathered from the
desert plants or hunted. Water under this reserve
is too deep and too scarce for economic irrigation.
[185] "To many Papago a good field, enough cattle to
provide occasional meat and money, a few horses
for prestige, and plenty of rain would make the
ideal combination."[1]

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 59.

WHERE ? . . . Two Counties

464 The Desert People do not go far afield seeking work. They hire out to farmers in the river valleys north and east of their reservations in Pima and Pinal counties, Arizona. Most of the cotton grown in these two counties is planted on the flood plain of the Santa Cruz River.

133 The Santa Cruz rises in the U. S., swings all the way around in Mexico and flows northward and westward across southern Arizona to the valley of the Gila River which rises in New Mexico to the east, flowing westward to the Colorado River. These streams are located in part of the Basin-and-Range physiographic province, where broad flat valleys are separated by steep volcanic mountains. The [311] arable land in the Santa Cruz valley is restricted by mountains in the upper reaches, widening out into the tremendous Gila valley.

000 Some cotton is grown in Santa Cruz county, between Mexico and Pima county. Harvesting is done by local labor or Mexicans. Cotton is grown northward along the narrow river flats for a few miles between the county line and the San Xavier Indian Reservation. This is the Sahuarita-Continental area, so called after the two tiny villages located there. A small cotton gin operates at Sahuarita. The reservation and other uncultivated lands separate this area from the small farms, some of them growing cotton, around the city of Tucson on the Santa Cruz north of the San Xavier reservation, and on Rillito Creek which flows eastward from the Santa Catalina-Rincon mountain system to empty into the Santa Cruz.

This small-farm area, which is being taken out of farming into suburban home-sites for rapidly growing metropolitan Tucson, extends northward just past Jaynes Station. Desert intervenes between it and a small cultivated area at Rillito, which is properly a southern extension of the Marana farming region, but still separated from it by desert.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 17]

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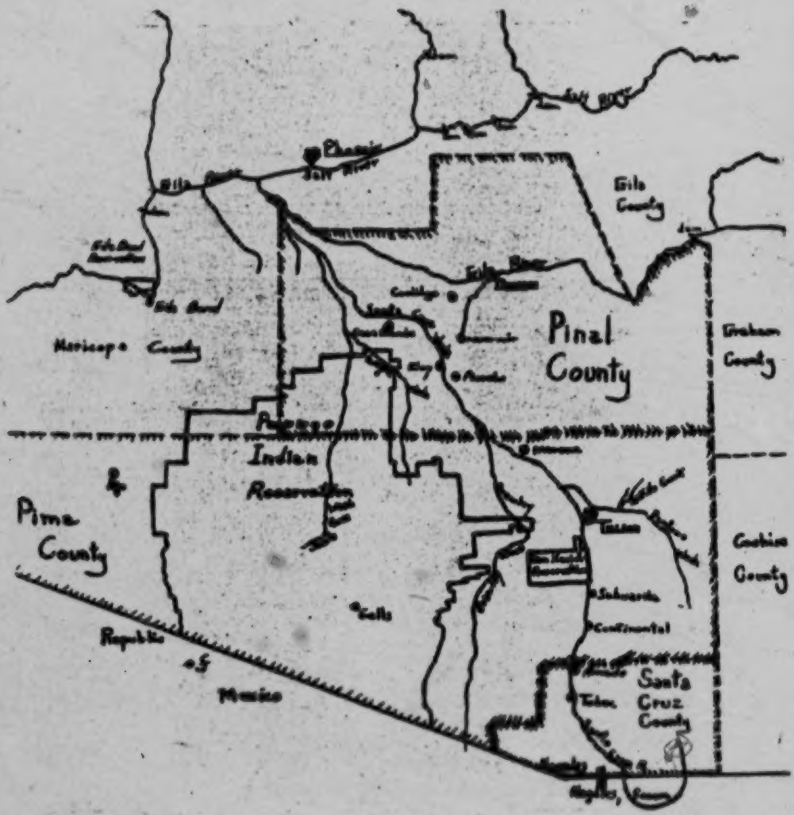
Principal Drainage Systems in Pima and Pinal Counties, Arizona


Phoenix
Salt River
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Gila Bend
Maricopa County
Coolidge
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Pinal County
Graham County
Papago Indian Reservation
Pima County
Tucson
Cochise County
Sells
Sahuarita
Continental
Republic of Mexico
Tubac
Santa Cruz County
Nogales

000 At Marana the Avra valley, which farther south lies parallel to and west of the Santa Cruz valley, joins the latter, forming a sizeable expanse of level land. Once controlled by a single company, this area is being sold off to individual farmers.

At the Pinal county line cultivation ceases, and desert still remains until the cotton lands of the Picacho-Eloy area begin. These are pushing southward toward Pima county constantly along the Santa Cruz channel. The farms of Pinal county are connected by a network of section-line roads hub-deep in fine dust during picking season, after week without rain and daily pounding by trucks hauling pickers, supplies and heavy cotton trailers. There is still some unbroken desert inside this road network, but very little. The trading centers not many years ago were headquarters of distinct farming areas separated by several miles of desert. Today the desert brush is mostly gone, and the cultivated area pushes out at its edges each year. The little towns are losing their distinctiveness, and look much alike. Farmers who once lived on farms close to town now live in expensive homes in the towns, and supervise the farming of hundreds of acres, which may be scattered in 2 or 3 parts of the county, 20 or 25 miles apart. The towns themselves are growing. A decade ago none of the major trading centers in the agricultural area of Pinal county boasted 2,000 inhabitants. In 1950 all three were over 4,000 and 5 or 6 smaller and more isolated shopping centers had sprung into being and were increasing in population.

North of this farming area, in the Salt River valley, is the major agricultural region of Arizona. West in the Colorado river valley is a large producing area. East in the San Pedro valley and on the upper 464 Gila are smaller farming communities. But these attract few if any Papago laborers. An attempt to send Papagos to the Colorado valley to harvest melons in 1950 failed. The Desert People work in the Santa Cruz-Gila river area where they have gone to harvest for centuries.

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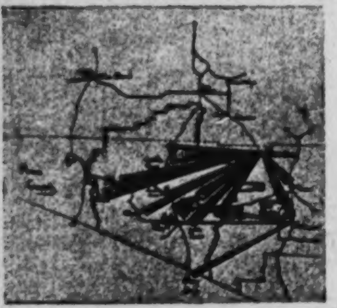
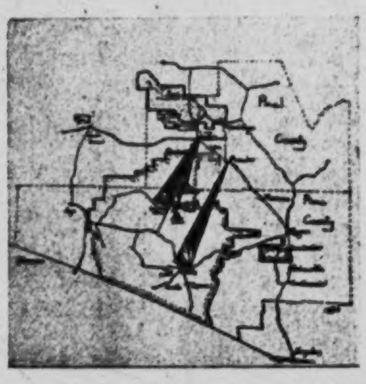


Home towns and working area of Papago cotton pickers in Pima county, Arizona, 1950.


Pinal
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Pima
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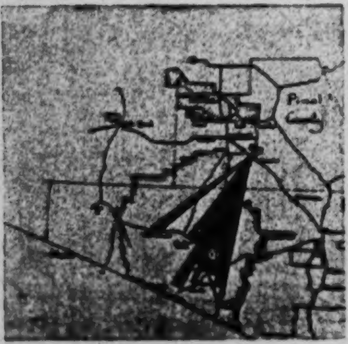
Home towns of Papagos working in the cotton harvest near Casa Grande and Picacho, Pinal county, 1950.


Pinal
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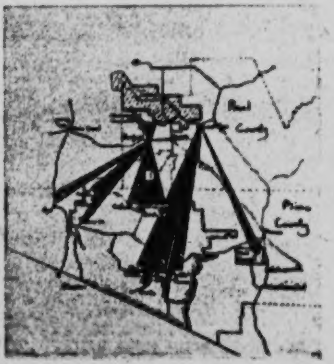
Home towns of Papagos working near Eloy picking cotton in 1950.


Pinal
County
Pima
County

Home towns of Papagos picking cotton near Stanfield and Coolidge, Pinal county, Arizona,

WHERE THE DESERT PEOPLE WORK

464 466 When they leave their reservations to seek farm work the Desert People don't strike out blindly to hunt work. The work seeks them. Farmers or their foremen or contractors drive onto the reserves seeking labor, and after recruiting in the scattered villages, haul the Papagos to their labor camps. About 85% of the Papago farm laborers were hauled from their homes to the camps where they stayed for [493] the 1950 picking season.[1] Only a small number--about 15%--travel to the labor camps in their own cars.[2]

The Desert People do not hire out to the first labor recruiter who happens along. They have definite preferences among employers, based on their experience in past years. The Papago laborers of 1950 had already worked in the cotton harvest an average of 4 years.[3] About two-thirds of the Papago hands had worked before the 1950 season, and went to the particular farm where they worked because they'd been there before and were satisfied with it. About a sixth of them were introduced to the farm where they worked in 1950 by one or another of their relatives. Only about a sixth just happened to choose their location.[4]

464 Over 90% of the farmers the Desert People work for are Anglo-Americans. But a few are themselves members of minority groups--Chinese-Americans in Pima county and (Asiatic) Indian-Americans in Pinal county. These farmers are almost all large-scale operators, and they hire about twice as many Papagos proportionately as Anglo-American farmers. Although they form less than 10% of the farmers hiring Papagos, they hire over 20% of the Papago labor force.[5]

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[1] Of 20 giving information, 17 were hauled.
[2] 3 of 20 giving information.
[3] Based on the work-experience of 26 persons.
[4] Based on questioning 11 families specifically, and impressions gained in conversation with many others.
[5] Of the 52 farmers studied who hire Papagos, 47 are Anglo-Americans, 3 Indian-Americans, 2 Chinese-Americans. Of 41 Papagos working for them, 32 worked for Anglos, 4 for Indians, 5 for Chinese.

WHEN? . . . A Hundred Days

000 To city people in southern Arizona "The Hundred Days" are the first hundred or so in the year when the main industry of the area is in high gear. Then tourists from colder parts of the country flood into the cities to pump enough dollars into the commercial system to last the rest of the year.

461 221 The hundred days of the cotton farmer come earlier, after the first of September. And they are really more than a hundred, extending usually into mid-January. But the cotton picking season is just about one hundred working days long--22 picking days to the month (5½ work days to the week).

Summer heat continues into October, and the picking that began about the first week of September with the opening of the first bolls is hot, sweaty work. More and more bolls open until the first killing frost which usually comes in mid-November turning the plants brown. Then leaves fall off and the last bolls open quickly. After that harvesting is a race against time to pick the lint before rain and sun deteriorate it.

464 221 [361] The Desert People begin their annual migration to the cotton fields months earlier to work at cleaning ditches and weeding and thinning the growing cotton. The harvest hands start moving into labor camps in August, and more continue to move in until the peak of the season in November finds perhaps 4,500 Papagos living in Pima and Pinal county camps.

221 The Desert People are old hands at seasonal migrations. For untold centuries they moved back and forth between their fields in the valleys and springs in the mountains where they went after the harvest and the drying up of valley water holes. The present migration out to the labor camps comes a little earlier than harvest time, and interferes with growing crops on the reserves.

221 602 186 182 "Despite the practical difficulties involved, the findings suggest that the development of this physical, social and

[Text continues on p.22]

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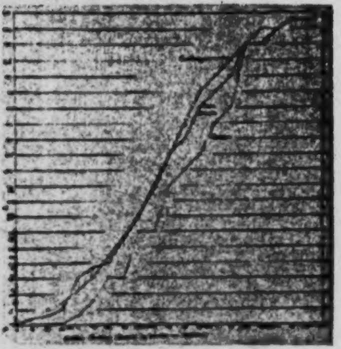

Progress of the Cotton Harvest in 1950. Casa Grande, Coolidge and Tucson areas. (Expressed as the percent harvest was complete.)

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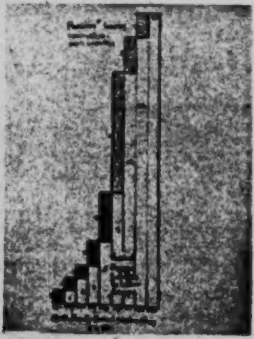
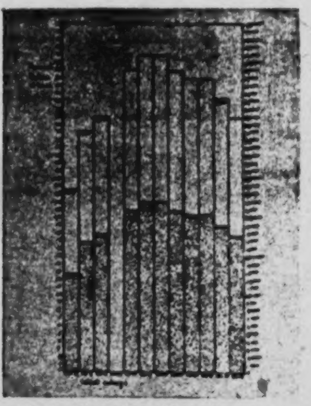
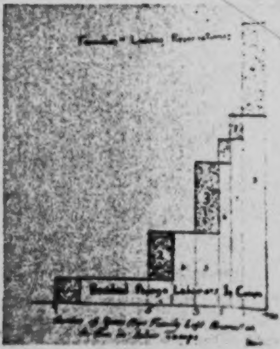


Departure of Papago families for cotton field work, 1950. This chart shows the rhythm of the annual migration from the reserves to chop and harvest cotton.



Growth and decline of cotton picking force in Arizona, 1950. Shaded portion represents Pima and Pinal counties. (Based on figures issued by Arizona State Employment Service: Arizona Cotton Bulletin, 1950 a,b,c,d,e,f,g. Arizona Farm Labor Bulletin, 1950 a, b, c, d.)



Migration of Papago farm workers to permanent residence in labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties, Arizona. This chart illustrates the rising importance of year-round wage labor in Papago economy.

221
602 psychological base in cooperative family
182 life, with roots in the traditional home-
186 land to counterbalance the wage work cycle
is of vital importance to Papago well-being
as a firm pivot around which the individual
may build his new adjustment to rapidly
changing modern conditions. As such, the
new dual orientation may well serve as the
focus of administrative planning.[1]

166 However, an increasing proportion of the Desert People
464 who work on cotton farms no longer make an annual
migration from reservation home to labor camp. They
463 have moved from the reserves more or less permanently,
consciously recognizing themselves as permanent farm
[361] workers. Mostly they are irrigators, but do general
farm work, and include tractor drivers and other
skilled workmen. They contribute some labor to har-
vesting cotton, since men pick when regular jobs are
[162] slack, and wives and children pick off and on. These
people made up over a fifth of the Papagos interviewed
in the course of this study,[2] indicating that the num-
ber of Papagos living on farms outside the reserves
all the time is relatively large, perhaps as many as
464 800.[3] They occupy an important place in the labor
picture and economy of the cotton-growing valleys.
182 Their ability to support themselves by wage labor is
very important to the economy of the reserves, remov-
ing part of the population overload that cannot be
supported adequately by the poor lands of the reserves.

464 This form of adjustment to a radically changed
361 economy has not progressed to its ultimate, however.
In South Africa, where European settlers moved in and
166 confined the natives to similar reserves, about 35%
171 of the native population lives permanently on Euro-
pean owned farms.[4] If 800 Papagos live on southern
Arizona farms all the time, only about 10% of the
[162] population is living on European owned farms outside
the reserves. (Perhaps as many live in southern
Arizona cities.)

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.

[2] 12 of 53 families, or 22.6%.

[3] About 2,000 Papagos picked cotton in 1950, and about 4,500 lived in labor camps. So approximately 200 Papago men may be working as year-round farm laboerers, and their wives add another 200 part-time cotton pickers. Their families are somewhat smaller than those of pickers migrating from the reserves.

[4] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.

464 The movement of the Desert People to permanent
36 homes in labor camps on European owned farms, abandoning
their roots on the tribal lands is a relatively
166 new development. While Papagos have worked for
178 Europeans for almost the entire period of contact,
their work has always been brief in duration, a
177 supplemental measure followed by a withdrawal to the
[221] homeland. Forsaking overcrowded tribal lands for good
seems to have begun only within the last decade, and
to have reached significant proportions only in the
last 5 years. (Some Papagos have worked for many
years as domestics or miners away from the reserves)
This late beginning for a class of Papagos severed
from their homeland is due to the peaceful nature of
contacts between Papagos and Americans and to lack
of opportunity for wide-scale farm employment until
[722] recent years. The Papago economic base was never
destroyed by warfare with the incoming whites as in
[248] the case of the Navahos and many other tribes. Overpopulation
on deteriorating reserves did not reach a
[161] critical point until about the same time extensive
development of irrigated agricultural lands in nearby
valleys began, offering a safety valve to those Papagos
able to speak acceptable English and perform semiskilled
farm work.

464 This class of Papago farm laborers is very new
166 compared to natives living on South African farms.
Most of them have grown up on European farms, without
171 any stake in native reserve areas. Some are descended
from natives forced into farm labor by destruction
of their cattle in wars nearly a century ago.[1]

The ties native South African farm workers retain
with natives living in the reserves naturally depend
on the time they have spent on the farms. Some entirely
lack relatives or friends on reserves, and have
[602] never visited the reserves.[2] A very few Papago year-round
farm laborers no longer have relatives on the
[592] reservations. But they all still have friends on the
trust lands. They all were born on the reserves.
[594] They all still visit their old homes, even if only
rarely. They are all very conscious that they are
[186] Desert People, and are only beginning to view themselves
as people apart.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 390.

HOW the Papago Indians Work

THE FAMILY -

221 444 594 362 The approximately 2,000 Desert People who move out into the cotton fields from their reserves to work do not move alone. The family--father, mother and children--moves as a unit.

> [434) "It should be emphasized that, although a larger percentage of his income is obtained from work off the reservation, the Papago wage worker is not generally a footloose migratory laborer according to the usual pattern in the United States. The Papago laborer usually takes his family with him and maintains his home on the reservation."[1]

[162) The Papago family living in Pinal and Pima county labor camps in 1950 averaged some 4½ persons,[2] making the total number of Desert People living in labor camps at the peak of the cotton harvesting season in the neighborhood of 4,500.

162 594 361 871 The usual Papago family in a labor camp included a father and mother and two or three children. Families with children had 3 oftener than 2.[3] About 60% of the Papago families working in the cotton fields brought school children with them from the reserves.[4] What this meant to public schools in the trading centers of the cotton growing area may be deduced from the fact that families with school-age children had on the average 1.6 such offspring to be taught in the schools.[5] If both father and mother work, this means school authorities in the cotton-growing areas of Pima and Pinal counties should expect to provide educational facilities for .8 Papago school children fer approximately 60% of the total number of Papago harvesters.

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.

[2] 47 families had 208 persons, an average of 4.43 individuals in each family. (Actually these families included some additional persons not enumerated.)

[3] 28 families with children had 64, averaging 2.2857.

[4] Of 31 families giving information, 18 brought school-age children to the camps, or 58.1%.

[5] The 18 families brought 29 school-age children.

594 171 This Papago family including parents and sometimes another adult, with 2 or 3 children is a comparatively smaller unit than native families living on European owned South African farms, for example. There Dutch and English settlers also moved into native held lands, and a class of permanent native farm laborers has grown up. Their average household includes slightly more than 3 adults, and 5 children.[1] 596 592 This is about the size of the Papago extended family living as a household on the reserves. "Most often, and ideally, a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children--three generations in all."[2] It reflects the fact that living on European operated farms is new to the Desert People, a move accomplished by biological family units in the younger age groups. [178] Only recently as younger Papagos have gone to school and learned white ways have they begun to set up separate households away from their parents.

594 162 Families with school-age children are the largest in the labor camps. The average family size for families with school-age offspring only is over 6½.[3] The families with both school and pre-school children averaged over 7 individuals.[4] [165] This probably reflects the high mortality rate of smaller children among the Desert People, whose new-born babies have a life expectancy of only 17 years.[5]

Families with younger parents and all pre-school age children are, of course, smaller, running some 4 individuals, with nearly 2 children per family.[6]

221 596 178 Migration to the cotton fields reinforces the tendency to break up the old Papago extended family into smaller units like our biological family households. This change is most complete among families living in labor camps all the time, having severed their reservation ties more or less completely.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 391.
[2] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 45.
[3] 10 families interviewed with 19 school children, 66.
[4] 8 families with 10 school children, 1.25 average, and 14 pre-school, 1.75 average, had 57 persons, 7.125 average, plus.
[6] 8 families with 15 children under 6 had 32 plus people.
[5] Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 12.

124 596 594 [illegible]78 The change in attitude toward the family is indicated by the thought habits of harvest workers as shown by their answers to inquiries as to whether the entire family was in the labor camp. Well over half replied that all their family was in the camp, although further questioning developed that actually relatives counted part of the traditional extended family remained on the reservations. These laborers were thinking in terms of the biological family rather than the traditional extended family group.[1]

221 464 602 574 Papago harvest hands are not as socially and economically independent of the relatives they leave behind on the reserves as one might think. Strong cultural ties bind them to their relatives. The farm laborers know they will return home for most of the year--the harvest season is only an interlude. Even during picking season, Papago laborers return to the reserves on religious occasions, and meet their relatives who cannot leave the reserves to earn cash. On the other side of the picture, the stay-at-home relatives care for the property and animals of the wage laborers while they work.

464 561 221 602 1855 Most frequently it is the older generation which has less knowledge of English and Anglo working habits that stays on the reserves. Among workers who recognize that part of their family stayed on the reserves, about 60% left parents.[2] One pattern of behavior for laboring Desert People is to leave school children with their grandparents on the reserves so their schooling will not be interrupted by the move to the cotton farms and back. Perhaps a sixth do so.[3] Another pattern is for siblings to stay home to care for property left on the reserves. Again, about a sixth of the cotton pickers relied on such a relative in 1950.

596 464 221 About one family of 10 is either so large or so poor that all members of the extended family leave the reserves to work, but go to different camps.[4]

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[1] 60% of those asked said the whole family was in camp (21 of 35 families giving information).

[2] Of 19 families giving information, 12 had parents on the reservations--63.2%

[3] Of the 19 families, 3 left children with their grandparents--15.8%.

[4] This was true of 2 of the 19 families giving data, 10.5%.

WHERE THE PICKERS LIVE

221 464 361 The people who move into the irrigated valleys of southern Arizona to harvest the cotton crop must live somewhere while they work in the fields. Like other migrant farm laborers

> "During a considerable portion of each year they live perforce in houses or shelters which are not their own homes and in localities which are not their own home communities. Their children must suffer a series of breaks in school attendance and be denied many of the community privileges which are the normal lot of other youth. These conditions are important to employers of migrant workers. Good facilities and conditions help to induce workers to accept employment while bad conditions make it difficult for employers to obtain the workers required."[1]

In 1950 cotton harvest hands had essentially two choices in southern Arizona. They could live in cities or towns and ride out to the fields every morning, or they could live in labor camps on the farms and walk to the fields.

464 466 484 494 361 A new pattern of mobility is emerging in the Arizona cotton harvest which would considerably surprise someone familiar with the region a decade ago. Many of the 20,000 or so pickers in Pima and Pinal counties lived in towns and were hauled out to the fields each day in trucks or buses in 1950. Labor contractors recruited these crews, and sent them to the best picking available each day. About two-thirds of the cotton farmers in Pima and Pinal counties paid contractors to haul pickers to their fields.[2] About a fifth of the farmers in Pinal county hired pickers who lived in towns, but drove their *own cars, to the fields instead of working* under a contractor.[3] Actually very few farmers relied on pickers driving to work to harvest their crop--those who did planted small acreages close to towns. Most growers hired anyone who came along in his car along with hands hauled from towns in trucks and those living in camps. 6

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p p. 18-19.

[2] 20 farmers of 31 giving data, 64.5%, in Pima county did. 26 of 38, or 68.4%, in Pinal county hired such pickers.

[3] 9 of 38 farmers giving data hired them--23.7%.

[4] 4 of 31 farmers giving information hired them--12.9%.

464 484 494 In Pima county, at least, Papago cotton pickers seem to have become as fully mobile as any other harvest hands. Many Desert People who have moved to Tucson or live there during picking season ride trucks or buses to the fields each morning. The drivers, usually Mexican-Americans, establish regular routes from which they pick up hands, and the Indians are just individuals in a mixed crew of Anglos, Mexican-Americans and Negros. Some Papago families living in Tucson also move into labor camps on farms.

[463] [621] At nearby San Xavier the Desert People can choose either method of working. Those moving out to live in labor camps are generally irrigators and farm handy men who live away from their community most of the time, returning for religious celebrations and visits. Part-time laborers picking cotton usually take an uncomfortable ride to their jobs every day in canvas-covered flat bed trucks that usually have rough benches to sit on. At least one San Xavier man has escaped the bottom of the economic scale by hauling other Papagos to work in his truck even as other contractors.

[184] [361] Fewer Papagos ride to work each morning in Pinal county. The proportion of the total picking force hauled from the towns each day is also much smaller than in Pima county. The trading centers do not afford the labor reservoir available in big-city Tucson, nor the housing for migrant workers found in that city. So the greatest part of the harvest labor is housed in camps on cotton farms, and many of the hands hauled from the towns live in what are no more than labor camps thrown up in the trading centers.

464 361 Despite increasing importance of mobile labor that is more efficient in that it can be put to work where most needed, most cotton farmers rely still on pickers living in their own labor camps on their farms. Four-fifths of the cotton farms in Pima and Pinal counties have these camps.[1] A few farmers operated more than one labor camp in 1950--1 farm of every 9 or so has been afflicted with two camps or more.[2] Some farmers built

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[1] 26 farmers of 34 giving data, 76.5%, in Pima county had camps. 46 of 57 giving data, 80.7%, in Pinal had them.

[2] 72 farms with camps had 82, averaging 1.139 per farm.
46 farms with camps in Pima county had 50 camps.
26 farms with camps in Pinal county had 32 camps.

464 361 a second camp because their fields were located in widely separated areas. Some observed that they had less trouble in their labor camps when different ethnic groups lived in separate camps, so built smaller separated camps instead of a single large one. Some just happened to have more than one camp because they'd purchased land with more than one.

464 362 Regardless of the number of camps a farmer owned, or where they were located in the two counties, what has been said of housing for migrant labor elsewhere in the U. S. applies to Pima and Pinal counties, Arizona.

> "Migrants have little choice in the matter of housing. They must accept whatever shelter is available in the area in which they seek employment. Tents, make-shift shelters, broken-down one-room cabins, converted chicken coops, deserted farm houses, long rows of unpainted one-room cabins, old barns and other farm buildings provide 'homes' for thousands of migratory workers. In most instances, the occupants eat and sleep in one room--cook their meals either in this room or in a nearby cook shack and sleep on bunks or on straw thrown upon the floor. Overcrowding and unsanitary conditions add to the health hazards, endangering both the migrant workers themselves and the communities in which these conditions are permitted to exist."[1]

464 487 The lack of choice is especially true for Papagos and other migrants to southern Arizona's cotton harvest because they are mostly hauled from their homes to labor camps by the farmers, and lack transportation of their own. They must live within walking distance of their work or be hauled to it.

OBD Most of southern Arizona's cotton barons haven't been growing white gold very long, but joined with their near-kin in California and New Mexico, they are dethroning King Cotton in the South and enthroning him west of the Pecos river. They probably are going to be raising cotton a long time. So the progress they have made in solving their production problems is of more than passing interest.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 20.

362 [466] Not the least of their problems is harvesting. Until such time as they completely mechanize their harvest, the housing they provide for their pickers is of vital concern to the pickers and the communities where the white gold miners operate. By comparing the actual situation in 1950 with the labor-camp code suggested by the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor in 1947, we can see how near southern Arizona farmers are to a standard likely to be considered reasonable and desirable by most Americans.[1]

SITES

361 362 This suggested camp code to be used as a standard with which to compare southern Arizona camps reads:

> "Article 1. Site, Selection, and Maintenance
>
> "(a) All sites used for labor camps shall be located upon high well-drained ground. They shall not be subject to periodic flooding, or located adjacent to swamps or marshes which might have adverse effects upon the health of the occupants. Camps shall not be located on sites which are subject to extreme traffic hazards. No labor camps shall be located on the water-shed of a domestic water supply.
>
> "Where corrals or stables exist, or where large animals are maintained in connection with any camp, the quarters for any animals shall be separated from the camp.
>
> "(b) All sites shall be adequate in size to prevent overcrowding of buildings.
>
> "(c) All sites shall be graded, ditched, and rendered free from depressions in which water may stand...Where sand or dust create problems, provision shall be made for stabilizing the soil or maintaining satisfactory cover crops.
>
> "(d) The grounds and open areas surrounding the shelters shall be maintained in a clean and sanitary condition free from rubbish, debris, waste paper, garbage, etc."[2]

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[1] The Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor was headed by Maj. Gen. G. B. Erskine, USMC, and included representatives of Dept. of Agriculture, Dept. of Labor, Federal Security Agency, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Housing Agency, and Railroad Retirement Board. Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 39-40.

361 362 [312] [231] Drainage (a) is no problem in southern Arizona because of the lack of rainfall. Even after a summer cloudburst the ground dries out for all practical purposes in a day. And the domestic water of the region comes from underground, so there is no question of locating camps on a watershed. In this study no large animals were found in any of the labor camps visited, except for a couple where Papago horse owners had brought mounts to camp, and kept them out in the fields on pasture.

Overcrowding camp sites (b) is another matter. It is difficult to define overcrowding in view of the small number of activities carried on in labor camps during picking season. But a number of southern Arizona camps are sandwiched between a road in front and a field fence behind, without space to drive a car between the rows of cabins. The average distance between dwelling units in Pima and Pinal county labor camps is some 25 to 30 feet.[1] In camps built of concrete blocks, the units are usually arranged in a straight line as apartments without space between. Often tents are spaced with only a yard between. Some spacious camps, on the other hand, leave 60 or 75 feet between units. Always a family's neighbors are very much present in Pima and Pinal county labor camps, however. Quarrels, and indeed most of the ordinary events of living, are quite audible next door. Privacy is difficult to achieve.

13 361 Since the valleys where cotton is grown in this region are already quite level, grading (c) isn't necessary. In fact, it would only aggravate the dust problem, which is acute. For the sandy soils of Pima and Pinal counties cannot support much vegetation on the scanty rainfall. The open soil blows readily. Heavy winds in the cotton growing areas stop traffic on main highways regularly each year while the plants are small and cannot hold the soil--the dust load in the air becomes simply too thick to see through.

362 [361] [363] Labor camps are located beside roads for ease of access. Except for a few along main highways which are paved, camps are covered with a thick dust coat every time a vehicle drives by, throwing up a high cloud of dirt behind. In dry, dusty air harvesters work, eat and sleep.

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[1] 30 feet in 14 Pima county camps, and 25 in 22 Pinal county camps visited in this study (estimated distances.)

362 361 At dusk when breezes are still and hundreds of trucks and cars have returned from the fields to labor camps, stirring up dirt roads, a choking dust pall rises all over the cotton growing valleys. The picker gets his last view of the distant mountains each night through this low hanging dust cloud.

[312] Probably because of the permanent water shortage in both counties, none of the cotton farmers has seen fit to plant cover crops on his labor camp grounds. Nor have any farmers been concerned enough over dust problems to oil either section line roads or camp grounds.

SOCIAL CONTROLS IN LABOR CAMPS

466 361 364 Apparently the main desire of many cotton farmers is to have as little to do with their labor camps as possible. This is reflected in the generally messy appearance of the uncared-for grounds in unsupervised camps. It is a rare camp without cotton or tin cans or paper or garbage or all four scattered about.

186 361 364 However, lack of supervision is not the only reason southern Arizona labor camp grounds are generally messy looking and not very hygienic. One primary reason for dirty camps is their very nature. Their population is temporary and transient, without any sentimental ties to or pride in the camps. As a result, laborers simply do not care about the appearance of camps, and do not bother to keep them clean. It is interesting to note the exceptional labor camps in the region where workers are employed on a year-round basis, and have time to form some attachment to the camp. Even if these year-round workers must live in tents, they make some attempt to beautify the camp grounds. They try to grow a patch of lawn, or a few straggling castor bean plants, or a rose or some iris--and they keep the grounds around their dwellings neat and clean. An urge to grow something seems especially strong among the Desert People and the Mexican-Americans.

621 361 364 Besides this factor of length of residence in labor camps, there is another aspect of social organization involved in so many camps being dirty--with operators having a difficult time coercing residents into cleaning them up. This is the fact there is no real social organization extending through the whole camp. The laborers are a miscellaneous lot generally hired as they come

621 along, and shunted into cabins as they arrive. They do
not realize they have a community of interest in keeping
361 their camp clean--there is no organized social sanction
364 in the camps to force uncooperative residents to clean
up, so everyone is lax.

This is especially pronounced in labor camps with residents of more than one ethnic background. Cultural differences in living habits of different peoples are not often in the consciousness of camp operators who wrongly assume everyone lives or should live just as they do. But those differences lead to a breakdown of cleanliness in the camps.

The Desert People are extremely careful around their
364 own homes on the reserves, and a Papago yard is one of
464 the cleanest spots imaginable, although it may be littered with stray pieces of furniture and tools. So admin-
626 istrators are puzzled over Papago slovenliness in labor
camps. The answer seems to be found in their pattern of
[351] hiring out. The Desert People go to work as family units
with residents of a reserve town scattering to several
labor camps. As a result, the primary sanction in Papago
community life, the fear of being talked about,[1] loses
its effect. Being talked about by laborers of other
races does not produce action by the Desert People that
talk in their home community would. The same is true of
other people in labor camps--being talked about by members of other ethnic groups is not strong enough a sanction to move them to act. In fact, such talk is likely
to produce an opposite reaction because of inter-group
621 frictions. Labor camps housing laborers of more than
one racial origin are studies in social disorganization
571 resulting in general breakdown in normal social controls,
626 resulting in dirty camp grounds, excesses of gambling,
women going to work from different cabins each morning,
178 etc.

Usually the Desert People in labor camps keep the
364 grounds around their own cabins reasonably clean, but farmers hiring all or nearly all Papago laborers are surprised and puzzled when their camps are almost as dirty as camps housing several ethnic groups. They order the Papago "chief" to clean up the camp, but nothing usually happens until the grower gives in and hires someone to clean the camp up.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 53.

622 621 571 626 [596] Again the key to the puzzle lies in lack of social sanctions in the Papago group in the camp. The Desert People come from several hamlets on their reserves to any camp, usually. There is no community leader nor community sanctions to motivate them. The "chief" turns out to be merely the patriarch leading one large extended family. Among this group of his own kin, he receives considerable respect, but carries less authority than many Anglo patriarchs. Among unrelated families, even those from his own village, he has none. This camp operators do not realize, having assumed that a Papago patriarch conforms to their concept of an Indian chief. (This mistake has been made repeatedly in U. S. history by Anglos who insisted upon projecting the concept of "chief" derived from Anglo-Saxon protohistory into American Indian society where it was not and is not true.)

621 626 571 The heterogeneous group of Papagos in a camp no more constitute a socially integrated group with recognized and effective social sanctions than the racially heterogeneous residents of a miscellaneous camp. While they do not like being talked about by other Desert People, they do not act to forestall such talk as they would to keep their relatives and neighbors at home from talking. So camp grounds accumulate trash.

153 177 In labor camps the Desert People are also away from home in mental attitude as much as in physical being. They feel themselves in a white man's world, where they should act as white men--and they see an example of uncleanly whites in labor camps as a pattern. They cannot act better than they are taught. They cannot act according to standards in the minds of cotton growers or city newspaper reporters which are invisible--they can learn only what they can copy from sight. This fact explains why what social scientists call "acculturation" (adjustment of people of one culture to habits of another) takes place when people meet face to face. An example from history illustrates clearly. The Papago word for "cat" is copied from the old Spanish cat call rather than the Spanish name-word because the Indians saw and heard Spaniards calling their cats, and could associate call and animal. They could not learn the Spanish name for cats, which was invisible and silent in the minds of the Spaniards.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

CONSTRUCTION

362 The quality of housing in southern Arizona labor camps is most variable, although it would surprise a person who had not visited the area since depression years of the 1930's. The labor camp code suggested as a standard of comparison requires:

> "Article 2. Shelter, Standards, and Maintenance
>
> "(a) Every building, tent, barracks, or living quarters in the camp shall be constructed in a substantial manner and shall provide shelter to the occupants against the elements and exclude dampness in inclement weather."[1]

PIMA COUNTY

The most durable, presentable-looking, and weatherproof labor housing in either county is made of concrete blocks. Only about a tenth of the camps in Pima county have housing constructed of such material,[2] and only half these house all camp residents in block structures.

Adobe houses properly plastered are almost as durable as concrete block structures, and are actually more comfortable in extremes of heat or cold because of the insulating qualities of earthen walls. About a fifth of the labor camps in the county utilize some adobe, but none uses only adobe,[3] apparently.

Without artificial cooling provisions, adobe and concrete block structures are the best construction feasible in southern Arizona to give comfort under the blazing summer sun when irrigators and choppers live in the camps. A few camps with wooden siding-and-frame housing are adequate against the relatively mild cold of fall and early winter, but are far hotter and more uncomfortable during hot weather than adobe or block structures. The vast majority of the wood cabins do not appear to be even rain-proof, however. They would make fair chicken houses for southern Arizona, where well-feathered chickens need minimum protection. But they aren't even built tightly enough for chickens in regions of severe winter climate. Insulating qualities of such houses are nill--they provide shade, but cut off any breeze.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.

[2] 2 camps of 15 giving information (46.9% of estimated total cotton in county) or 13.2%.

[3] 3 of 15 camps on which information was obtained.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

362 Some form of siding-and-frame construction was used in about two-thirds of Pima county's camps in 1950. Half these camps offered inhabitants only siding-and-frame cabins.[1] Except for a few tightly built camps of painted, better quality siding, these were quite uniformly 1x10 or 1x12 knotty siding, unpainted.[2] They were poorly built with sizeable cracks between the boards. A tall man couldn't stand straight in some without bumping his head.

Many Pima county camps were camps in more than name in 1950--they were just that. Migrants living in them had to camp out in tents. Over half the cotton farmers in the county seem to have used some tents to house workers and just as many labor camps consisted of tents only as had concrete block structures.[3]

PINAL COUNTY

In the main cotton raising area of the state, primary reliance for housing harvest labor lies on siding-and-frame construction. About 4 of 5 labor camps had wood cabins in 1950, and 3 of the 5 used no other kind of labor housing.[4]

However, the smart operators in Pinal county are also bigger than those in Pima on the whole, and had progressed considerably farther in building permanent labor housing by 1950. Perhaps a third of the camps in this county had concrete block structures, although only half the camps provided with some of this optimum housing managed to house all residents in it.[5]

Tents were used much less frequently here than in Pima county, in only about a tenth of the camps in 1950. Less thana twentieth seem to have forced pickers to live in tents or nothing.[6]

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[1] 10 of 15 camps studied had siding-and-frame cabins; 5 of the 15 had only siding-and-frame cabins.

[2] Of 29 wooden-construction camps in both counties, 9 were painted and 3 plastered--some 40%.

[3] 8 of the 15 camps, 53%, used tents; 2 had only tents, 13%.

[4] 19 camps of 24 studied, 79% had wood cabins; 15 or 62% had only wood cabins.

[5] 8 of the 24 camps, 33% had concrete block housing; but only 4 of them housed all residents in such structures.

[6] 3 of the 24 camps used tents, or 12.5%; but only 1 of them offered pickers only tents.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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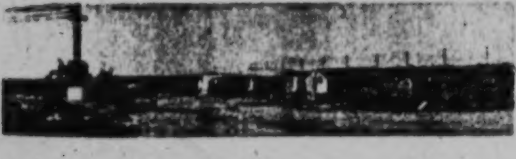
[415] A few Papagos live in labor camps with stout cabins made of concrete blocks . . .

[296] Some live in comfortable remodeled barracks . . .

But most live in board cracker boxes . . . (few have gas like this one and less than half were ever painted) . . .



and many live in true camps . . . tents . . .

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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Probably the short time most of the farms in Pinal county have been reclaimed from the desert accounts for the dearth of adobe structures in labor camps there. This material was used much less than in Pima county—in less than a twentieth of the camps apparently.[1]

If the suggested labor camp code being referred to as a standard had been adopted by the state of Arizona, quite obviously most of the cotton farmers would be violating this section. It is equally sure none would ever be convicted by a jury of his peers—for the peers in this area are all just as guilty.

Another factor to consider is the interior arrangement of labor housing. The suggested labor camp code we are citing sets the standard:

> "(b) All buildings, tents, or other structures serving as living quarters for families shall provide separate sleeping quarters for the parents and children."[2]

In siding-and-frame labor housing in Southern Arizona this condition virtually does not exist. In a few instances where barracks sold as war-surplus from one of the temporary airfields or the Gila River Relocation Center have been remodeled for labor housing, each family has more than one room. A few smaller growers who farm on a life-time basis provide their workers with [511] multi-roomed, well-equipped housing. But in the labor camps of big cotton plungers, each family eats, sleeps, and does all its living in one bare room.

Aside from the problem of privacy in labor camps is the matter of adequate breathing space. Of course, these rural slums are open to unlimited sky, but what of the cabins themselves? Our standard of comparison is:

> "(c) In shelters occupied by single family groups, rooms used for sleeping purposes shall provide at least 400 cubic feet of air space per person.
>
> "(d) In all shelters providing sleeping accomodations not less than 50 square feet of floor area with at least a 7-foot 6-inch ceiling shall be provided for each person."[3]

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[1] Only 1 camp of 24 studied had adobe structures.

[2] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

.362 In Pinal county the room each family in a labor camp used averaged in 1950 approximately 15 x 18 feet, with a roof in no case lower than some 8 feet.[1] This size room gave the average-sized Papago family in the camps sufficient air and floor space. A family of 5, slightly above the Papago average, had over 432 cubic feet of air per person, and about 54 square feet of floor space. Sleeping conditions were satisfactory for most of the Desert People picking cotton.

However in Pima county labor housing fell down in this respect because average cabin size was smaller—only about 12 x 15 feet.[2] An Indian family of 5 had only about 290 cubic feet of breathing space and 36 feet of floor space per person, and families of 4 still had less than the recommended amount—380 cubic feet of air and 45 square feet of floor space. Labor housing in Pima county was built too small for an average Papago family to get adequate air at night, and there is no reason to believe the size of the average Spanish-speaking family in the camps is any less. Fortunately, the cabins do not need to be closed up until about the middle of picking season.

Another aspect of ventilation and comfort in a house is its window space. The suggested labor camp code calls for

> "(1) All living quarters other than tents shall be provided with windows equal to one-eighth of the floor area, one-half of which shall be so constructed that they may be open for purposes of ventilation."[3]

To have this amount of window space, the average Pima county camp cabin would need a window 4 feet 9 inches square, and the average Pinal county cabin would need one 5 feet 10 inches square. Few cabins have windows of such large dimensions. The only labor housing in either county meeting such a standard had 2 windows in each room. Only about a fifth of the camps provided cabins with 2 windows in 1950.[4] An occasional camp had only window-less cabins.

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[1] Based on data on 21 labor camps.

[2] Based on data from 16 camps.

[3] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.

[4] 2 of 10 camps in Pima county studied were so built.

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

362 What do cotton pickers sleep on in southern Arizona labor camps? Their beds often do not meet the standard of the suggested labor camp code we are comparing with:

> "(e) Beds, cots, or bunks shall be provided in every room used for sleeping purposes. Every such bed or bunk shall be raised at least 12 inches from the floor. There shall be not less than 20 inches clear space extending from the floor to the ceiling between each bed, cot or bunk. The employer shall have available for use by workers mattresses or ticks ....."[1]

Most of the Desert People in southern Arizona camps in 1950 slept on metal beds. Some used full-size iron bed steads, but generally Papago pickers slept on ½ or 3/4 size iron cots or beds. These were made up with adequate blankets and quilts brought by the Desert People from their homes.

But some of them were not so fortunate--some slept on the ground. The practice in equipping labor camps with beds and other furniture varies tremendously among cotton growers. Some purchase stoves and bedsteads which they rent to contractors who must pay for loss and breakage. Some provide only bedsteads. Some provide a cabin, which may or may not have electricity, without any furnishings. All growers apparently furnish their labor camps with a supply of firewood. While cotton farmers pump their irrigation water in several hundred cases with natural gas operated engines,[2] only a handful provided gas in their labor camps--and the workers themselves frequently paid for it then.

So far a very important part of a house hasn't been mentioned--the floor. Most people expect a house to have a floor, and the suggested labor camp code calls for floors:

> "(f) Except where expressly exempted... the floors of each building used as living quarters, shall be constructed of wood, asphalt, concrete, or other material acceptable

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.

[2] 300 in Pinal county by 1949. (Barr, 1949, p. 4).

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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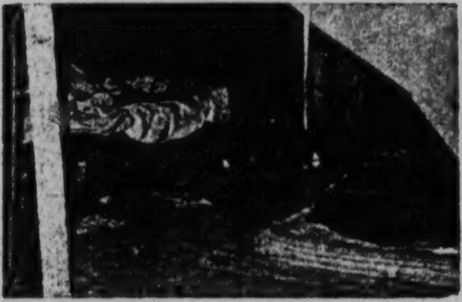
A ramada made living more bearable...

The Desert People have learned to lock their cabins while they work.



Most Papagos slept on cots . . . some on the ground.

Usually camp furnishings were Anglo materials . . . scissors and thread, a comb . . . but some Papago material culture persisted . . . corn, and a willow and devil's claw basket.

[285]
[177]

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

> to the department....Wooden floors shall be constructed of planed tongue-and-groove boards. All concrete or asphalt floors shall be of a smooth finish and properly sloped to drain. The floor of all living quarters shall be kept in good repair and if any floor is broken or has such cracks or knot holes that it cannot be kept in a dry and sanitary condition it shall be repaired or replaced by a new floor."[1]

There probably isn't a wood floor in a southern Arizona labor camp made with tongue-and-groove boards, so they are nearly all sub-standard. Concrete floors in camp cabins made of concrete blocks appear to be good floors meeting any reasonable standard. But in the rest of the camp housing, floors are either sub-standard or non-existent. Many camp houses have no floors at all save the original earth of the camp site. Adobe housing, wood housing, and tents were found with wood floors in the course of this study.

In the siding-and-frame cabins which have floors, they were made of the same material as the walls, liberally supplied with large knot holes, and leaving wide cracks between boards.

[466] In summary, it may be said that southern Arizona's farm commodity politicians regard their farm labor as just a necessary evil in the rocky path of cotton riches. Their on the whole anti-social attitude is accurately reflected in the poor quality of the housing they provide for their harvest hands. Generally--there are exceptions for the better, of course--this housing is not well located, subject to extreme dust problems which are uncontrolled; the cabins are mostly substandard in construction, with inadequate window space and frequently too small for proper ventilation or adequate floor space, or even floors.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

SANITATION

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The lack of floors, adequate ventilation, etc., in many southern Arizona labor camps raises a question of sanitation. How healthful are these temporary towns?

The ease with which flies can get at the inhabitants and their food is one critical factor in sanitation. The suggested labor camp code states the condition most Americans would want were they living in these camps:

> "(j) All exterior openings shall be effectively screened with at least 16-mesh per square inch material. All screen doors shall be outward-opening."[1]

Pickers working in Pima county have about 70% screen protection on their windows. But this doesn't mean they are protected from flies, since most cotton farmers haven't invested in screen doors--they put board doors on their cabins. Actually only about 40% of the camps in the county in 1950 had both windows and doors screened.[2]

In Pinal county the fly situation was even worse, with only a fair majority of the cotton plungers housing their labor behind screened windows in 1950, and a meager tenth supplying screen doors.[3]

Labor camp owners are quite vociferous in placing a good share of blame for bad fly conditions on their migrant employees. They say pickers kick out doors and windows for firewood when it's cold, and don't care about flies. They remark especially about lack of concern among their Indian employees over flies.

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To a certain extent, this is a defense and a rationalization. But much of it is really accurate observation. The Desert People are not fly-conscious as are Anglos who have hygiene and fly-phobias drilled into them from an early age by parents and school teachers.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.

[2] Based on examination of 10 camps, 7 with screened windows, 4 with screened doors.

[3] Based on examination of 19 camps, 11 with screened windows (58%) and 2 with screened doors (11%).

[Arizona Labor Camps]

751 825 [854] [252] [262] In visiting labor camps in the course of this study, the writer saw Papago babies lying on the ground on a blanket in the shade of a camp cabin with flies in clusters at their eyes and nostrils while the mother went about her work. Papago women were seen cooking with flies buzzing freely around, and the daily pot of frijoles often sat on a spotless oilcloth table cover with flies zooming in through an open door to the feast.

751 362 825 In fact, in the heat of late Arizona summer and early fall--the serious fly season--the doors of labor camp cabins are closed only when no one is in the cabin. Every breath of air is precious in the oppressive heat. This is true among the Desert People even when they live in excellent concrete block cabins with spacious screened windows and screen doors. They seem to hold a somewhat Steinish concept that a door is a door is a door is a door, whether wood or screen, and they prop open a screen door to let in air just as they would a wooden door.

[659] This all points to the big job the Indian Bureau school and medical service still must do in educating Papago mothers and children to the dangers of the ordinary housefly.

That lack of cabin screening, and Papago lack of knowledge of its necessity is really serious in the labor camps is convincingly shown by other sanitary conditions--or their lack--in these rural slum towns.

TOILET FACILITIES

514 [466] Whatever the construction of houses in their camps, Pima and Pinal county labor camp operators provide very much the same kind of toilet facilities. In fact, they are almost unanimous in digging a pit and erecting over it the unpainted, rustic outhouse of folklore. Over 95% of the camps in the area exhibit outhouses as alike as boards sawed from the same log.[1] A few long established farmers making a life-time career of their land provided plumbing for their laborers--significant chiefly for proving that it can be done.[2] They had small cotton plantings and hired few pickers.

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[1] Based on: 20 of 21 camps in Pinal county and 22 of 23 in Pima, or 95½%.

[2] Basis: 1 of 21 in Pinal and 1 of 23 in Pima county, 4½%.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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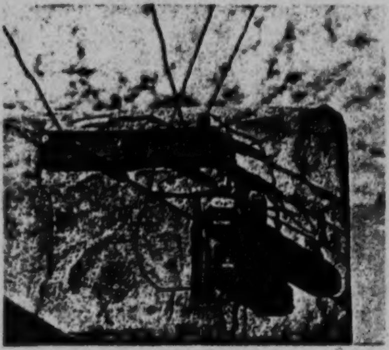

Some camps had electricity . . .

and cooking was easier.

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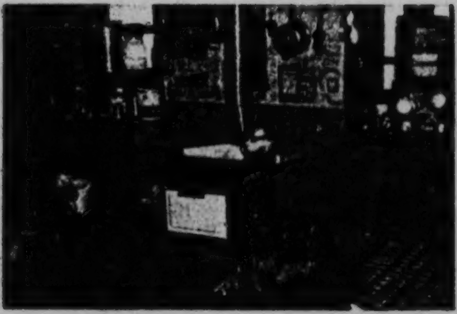
Most camps had a wood pile . . .



and cooking was a problem.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

514 In Pima county the old-fashioned backhouse provided each 3.3 cabins was located about 125 feet from the faucets where laborers obtained their water, and over 265 feet from the well supplying the water (in camps built at wells) and approximat[illegible] 75 feet from the unscreened cabins themselves, on the average.[1]

[466] In Pinal county the big cotton operators provided a backhouse for every 6 cabins on the average,[2] only about half as many proportionately as in Pima county. They built these backhouses approximately 50 feet from the faucets supplying pickers with water and about the same distance from their cabins, but over 300 feet away from the wells.[3]

The only outhouses seen by this writer while visiting camps which were not of the unpainted variety of rural America several decades ago were leftovers from prisoner-of-war camps constructed during the recent 000 world struggle. At that time harvest labor was so short that some growers built labor camps for war prisoners willing to work in their fields.

> "To relieve war labor shortages and to harvest the bumper crops we needed, land armies of women, older men, and young people from nearby cities, prisoners of war, and Mexican and West Indian workers were recruited. Labor standards for prisoners are determined by the Geneva Convention and for foreign workers by international agreements between their own governments and ours. Under these agreements for foreign nationals, orderly recruiting is followed by physical examinations by competent physicians, and written contracts between individual workers and W. F. A. These contracts guarantee free transportation and housing of accepted standards, minimum wages, employment up to 75 percent of the contract period, subsistence when unemployed, regular wage payments, and now free

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[1] Based on outhouse-cabin ratios for 11 camps, faucet-outhouse distance in 7, well-outhouse distance in 3, and outhouse-cabin distance in 6.

[2] Based on 16 camps.

[3] Based on faucet-outhouse distances from 4 camps, well-outhouse and cabin-outhouse distances from 7 camps.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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> medical care. Thus, standards for both our 'good neighbors' and for our enemies are far higher than for our own countrymen."[1]

514 466 Certainly sanitary facilities in former prisoner-of-war camps in southern Arizona are far better than any built for American workers. Outhouses built under the Geneva Convention were large and airy, with half one side tightly screened, and the buildings were built well. The difference between the outhouses they build for their own countrymen and those they built for their wartime enemies is eloquent testimony as to the labor-be-damned attitude of southern Arizona cotton farmers, and to their eager quest after the dollars brought by their white gold. This difference is also vivid evidence of the benefits harvest laborers can derive from having an official protector. American migrant workers are protected by no Geneva Convention. They need one.

466 362 A further comment on a-social attitudes of Pima and Pinal county cotton growers is that at the time, the housing they built for war prisoners was the best yet constructed in the region for field laborers—concrete block had not yet come into use, being a post-war development. Although constructed for single men, war-time barracks have been converted for family use by American harvest hands. Where they have been maintained, these barracks or similar ones from airfields when refurbished are the best labor housing constructed of wood in southern Arizona.

514 The extent to which outhouses in labor camps in the region fall short of desirable standards is easily discerned by a glance at our suggested labor camp code:

> "Article 4. Toilet Facilities
>
> "(a) Separate toilet rooms containing water closets or privies shall be provided for each sex and shall be distinctly marked 'for men' and 'for women' by signs printed in English and in the native language of the persons occupying the camp. No person shall be allowed to use or frequent a toilet room or water closet assigned to the opposite sex.
>
> "(b) The number of water closets or privies provided for each sex shall be based

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[1] U. S. Department of Labor, 1945, (no paging).

[Arizona Labor Camps]

> 514 on the maximum number of persons of that sex living in the camp at any one time, in the ratio of 1 to 20.
>
> "(c) All water closets or privies shall be readily accessible to the living quarters and shall in no case be more than 200 feet distant from any shelter they serve, nor less than 150 feet from the nearest source of water supply, kitchen, or mess hall.
>
> "(d) Each toilet room shall be lighted naturally, or artificially by a safe type of lighting, at all hours of the day and night. Adequate screened ventilation openings shall be provided.
>
> "(e) An adequate supply of toilet paper shall be provided in each privy or water closet compartment."[1]

The labor camp outhouses are unlabeled (humorists in one camp had designated one for the "Foreman" in large white letters), and unlighted. Few are ventilated, and those which are usually are not screened.

GARBAGE DISPOSAL

364 In southern Arizona labor camps other health hazards than unscreened outhouses are numerous--thousands ot bits of garbage scattered about camp grounds. While harvest hands tend to purchase a high proportion of ready-to-eat foods to escape the serious difficulties of cooking in the camps (and end up with stomach disorders from eating prepared foods requiring refrigeration which doesn't exist in the camps), they still have an abundance of garbage left when they finish a meal. Its disposal is a sanitary problem not yet satisfactorily solved by labor camp owners. The suggested labor camp code we are holding southern Arizona camps up against for comparison furnishes a standard for this situation:

> "Article 8. Garbage and Refuse Disposal for Shelters
>
> "(a) Fly-tight metal containers approved by the State department of health shall be provided for the collection of garbage and re-

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 41.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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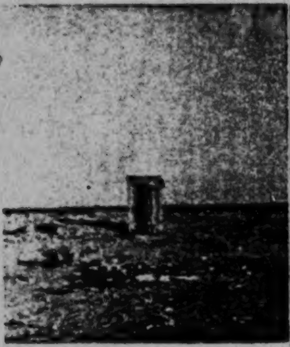

Cotton growers build outhouses . . . like obscene jokes on the landscape . . .

and the Desert People take a poor example home . . . in worse materials.

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Garbage cans were hardly fly-tight . . . or emptied often enough . . .

and when they were, not in sanitary places . . . but in washes like the Santa Cruz.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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> fuse. At least one such container shall be located within 100 feet of each shelter on a wooden or concrete stand.
>
> "(b) Incinerators or trash burners shall be provided in every camp for burning combustible rubbish.
>
> "(c) Facilities for washing garbage cans shall be provided at every labor camp.
>
> "(d) When garbage receptacles are full, and at least three times a week and oftener if necessary, the garbage and refuse shall be removed. In hot weather garbage containers shall be emptied and thoroughly cleaned daily.
>
> "(e) Garbage, combustible refuse, and rubbish shall be disposed of by incineration or by burial in a pit, or by transportation to a properly maintained and operated sanitary fill approved by the State board of health or such other methods as they may approve."[1]

The conditions which would be found under this system are found in very few if any southern Arizona labor camps. In Pima county in 1950 about three-fifths of the camps provided 50 gallon metal drums for garbage, spotted through the camps. Workers were expected to deposit their refuse in them, and they were hauled off periodically and dumped. The most frequent regular interval of collection mentioned to the author was once a week. The favorite dumping ground in the Marana area was the channel of the Santa Cruz river where the next flood could be depended upon to wash the refuse downstream [415] to plague the Eloy-Picacho area. The metal drums provided were converted oil drums without covers--not a single covered, fly-tight garbage container was seen in the course of this study. Nor was a single one of these garbage cans seen on any sort of stand: concrete, wood or otherwise. In camps where garbage cans were not provided, garbage was dumped in a pit dug near the camp, or in an arroyo handy to the cabins (where it would wash downstream into the Santa Cruz to plague the Marana area) or burned on the ground or more rarely in a concrete incinerator.

In the main cotton producing county, Pinal, about half the camps had no garbage disposal arrangements in 1950 other than piling refuse on the grounds and/or

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 42.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

364 [415] burning it there. Perhaps two-fifths of the camps in the county were provided with 50 gallon metal drums for refuse, but like those in Pima county, they lacked covers, and sat on the ground instead of a stand. Collections were just as irregular as in the smaller cotton growing area. Garbage collection was a sanitary joke in many Pinal county labor camps, for about three-fifths of the farmers providing garbage cans carried them no farther than across the road or somewhere on the camp grounds to dump them. This practice made many fine homes for wandering flies in the hot fall months of 1950.

One farmer hiring Papago irrigators derived some benefit from his workers' scraps--and probably kept as clean a camp as any--by keeping a large flock of geese which roamed freely through his camp cleaning up the grounds.[1]

WATER SUPPLY

312 The water workers drink has a very important effect on their health, and for labor camps the suggested code calls for less water than each laborer should have in southern Arizona with its extremely high temperatures and abnormally dusty conditions. So the suggested code may be considered lenient for southern Arizona conditions.

> "Article 3. Water Supply
>
> "(a) An adequate and convenient supply of water of quality approved by the State board of health shall be provided in each camp for drinking, culinary, bathing and laundry purposes.
>
> "(b) A water supply shall be deemed adequate if and when it is capable of delivering 35 gallons per person per day to the camp site at a rate two and one-half times the average hourly demand.
>
> "(c) The distribution lines shall be capable of supplying water at normal operating pressures to all fixtures for simultaneous operation and water outlets shall be distributed throughout the camp in such a manner that no shelter is more than 100 feet from a yard hydrant or similar outlet.

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[1] Statements on garbage disposal are based on information gathered on 14 Pima county and 12 Pinal county camps.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

> 312 "(d) In those areas where piped distribution of water is impracticable...Every well shall be tightly covered, and the water shall be obtained therefrom by means of some type of pump. Water shall not be drawn from any well by means of buckets or other containers. In the event it is necessary to haul water, the containers both in transit and at the labor camp shall be cleaned and sterilized frequently, and shall be kept tightly covered. If water is secured from tanks or containers a spigot for withdrawal therefrom shall be provided, and it shall be unlawful to dip water therefrom.
>
> "(e) The type of drinking facilities shall be approved by the State board of health."[1]

[271] All the water drunk in southern Arizona camps comes from wells, since surface water is scarcely sufficient to supply the area's population, and too distant from the population centers to make transporting it feasible.

In Pima county about 70% of the labor camps are supplied water directly from storage tanks on wells at the site or at the nearby home of the cotton growers.[2] However, in a fifth of these camps workers had to carry [415] their water from a tap at the storage tank to their cabins in buckets, and store it in their cabins in whatever containers they might have. Except for one camp visited provided with inside plumbing, the rest were serviced by hydrants outside the cabins. The number of hydrants supplying water piped from a storage tank varied from 1 for 3 worker's cabins to 1 for 14 cabins, averaging 1 outside hydrant for each 5 cabins.[3]

Nearly a third of Pima county labor camps lacked water delivered directly from a well in 1950. They were about equally divided between camps equipped with cisterns filled from tanks hauled from the farmer's well and camps where a tank-trailer of water was parked. Pickers drew water from cisterns with hand-pumps,[4] with an averaged of a single pump for each 16 cabins.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40-41.

[2] Of 14 camps on which data was obtained, 10 received water from storage tanks at a well--71%.

[3] Actually 4.89 cabins, judging from data from 8 camps.

[4] 47 cabins had 3 pumps, averaging 15.66 in 2 camps studied.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

Water

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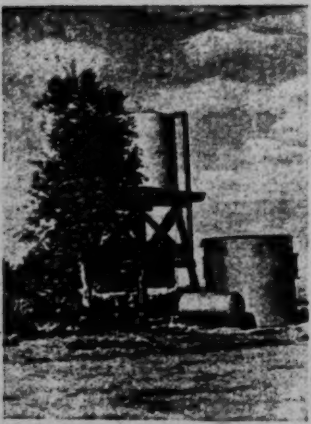
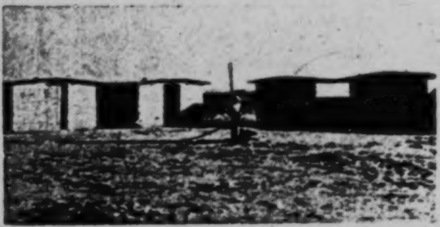


Pumped from a well and stored in a good tight tank . . .



delivered from 1 faucet for 9 cabins which looked like they'd been sawed from the same tree . . .

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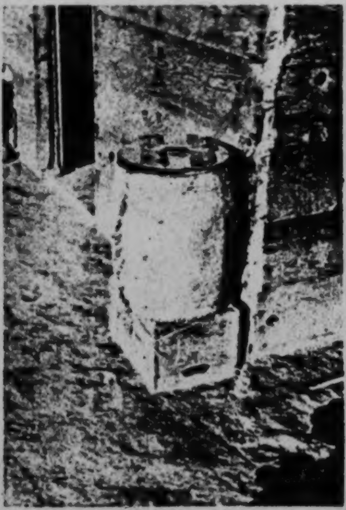
or two 50-gallon drums for 5 families . . . which is ridiculous . . .



but kept in an assortment of containers at each cabin.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

312 Only laborers living in very small labor camps had to skimp on water from trailer-tanks. There was a tank for every 5 cabins, in these camps, although tanks were sometimes ridiculously--and dangerously--small. Farmers haulingwater to their labor camps in this area probably have never even thought of sterilizing their equipment.

In Pinal county a higher proportion of the camps received water directly from wells. Over 90% of them have been built near a well.[1] Nearly all of these wells, about 9 out of 10, supplied water for pipelines to faucets by the cabins. However, the number of persons using each hydrant in 1950 was apparently double that in Pima county. Hydrants outside the cabins were provided at a ratio of 1 to 7½ cabins to 1 per 14 cabins, with the average 1 for each 11 cabins.[2]

CLEANLINESS

515 [466] If cleanliness is next to Godliness, the Desert People living in southern Arizona labor camps are amazingly close to their Diety. But it is their own doing, and not that of the farmers operating labor camps. For the cotton growers had made almost no provision for laundering or bathing in their camps in 1950. If pickers were to be clean, they had to struggle against terrific odds of dust, sweat, scrub-boards, and wash pans. What labor camp operators should provide in the way of such facilities is set forth in the suggested labor code we are referring to:

> "Article 7. Laundry, Handwashing, and Bathing Facilities.
>
> "(a) Laundry, handwashing, and bathing facilities shall be provided in the following ratio:
>
> 1 wash basin for every 6 persons.
> 1 shower head for every 10 persons.
> 1 laundry tray or tub for every 40 persons.
> 1 slop sink in each building.
>
> "(b) All bath rooms or utility buildings shall be well lighted and ventilated. Floors and ceilings shall be of smooth finish but not slippery materials and impervious to moisture, and sloped to drain...

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[1] Based on 13 camps on which data was obtained; 12 had wells.

[2] Based on 7 camps averaging 1 hydrant per 10.9 cabins.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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> "(c) An adequate supply of hot and cold running water shall be provided in all labor camps for bathing and laundry purposes unless otherwise authorized...in which case facilities for heating water shall be provided.
>
> "(e) Facilities for drying clothes shall be provided."[1]

515 466 These standards are met only on a few small cotton farms in Pima and Pinal counties where the farmers have invested in labor efficiency to the extent of installing indoor plumbing for their laborers. In these cases, the facilities for washing and bathing are considerably better than the standards of the suggested labor camp code.

However, if this suggested code were the law of Arizona, over 95% of the growers in both counties would be out of conformance. They provide no washing or bathing facilities beyond a hydrant where workers can obtain water.

296 462 [404] One reason Papago women do not put in a full work-week picking cotton is the amount of time they must spend in the camps washing out clothes in a galvinized tin wash-tub on an old-fashioned wash board. The clothes are hung out to dry on fences and trees in some camps, although most had clothes lines that appeared to be temporary affairs erected by workers rather than camp operators.

515 [415] Bathing in southern Arizona labor camps is a major operation. It is a matter of an enameled wash pan and a cloth, or doubling up in a wash-tub. Arizonans poke fun at migrants bathing in irrigation ditches, but a ditch full of water is the most practicable bathtub in the labor camps --the bather can get wet all over. But if the pump isn't running--and cotton isn't irrigated during picking season--there isn't even water in the ditch.

Papagos and most other cotton pickers in the region manage to keep amazingly clean, considering the difficulties they encounter. Small townspeople who turn up their noses at dirty Indians and Okies might try keeping themselves sweet-smelling under camp conditions before criticising (then they would criticise employers).

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 41-42.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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Cleanliness was a matter of wash tubs . . .
scrubboards . . . outdoor fires . . .

296

improvised clothes lines . . .

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404

and wash pans . . .

[Arizona Labor Camps]

OFFICIAL INSPECTION

The Health Department of the State of Arizona and the health officers of Pima and Pinal counties took some interest in sanitary conditions in labor camps in the cotton growing areas in 1950. Their concern extended to the point of actual inspections of some camps both before and after disease outbreaks, and subsequent pronouncements to the daily press.

In Pinal county perhaps a fourth of the labor camps were actually visited by a health officer checking the water supply or toilet facilities or both.[1] In Pima county with its obviously much smaller total problem, the attack was less intense, with only about a tenth of the labor camps having been inspected during the 1950 season.[2]

Cotton growers hardly took kindly to this official interest in their labor camps. One cotton plunger reportedly remarked after a health officer placed a sign warning his water supply was unfit for human drinking purposes that the pickers could all move somewhere else if they wished, but he was damned if he'd do anything about his water.

Resentment of official interest in labor camps seems to be a usual grower reaction. Although they plead for more Mexican citizens to aid in the cotton harvest, growers object to housing and wage requirements the Mexican government exacts from them. Imported foreign laborers, like the former prisoners of war, live under better conditions than U. S. citizens performing the same work. One cotton farmer told the writer his labor camp was never inspected except in 1949 when he hired Mexican citizens imported on contracts. Then a representative of the nearest Mexican consulate visited his camp every second week to check up. Significantly, this farmer did not hire Mexican citizens--nor supervise his camp--in 1950. His reaction appears typical.

This is the type farmer who creates the huge wetback problem in the Southwest. If there were no unscrupulous employers anxious to hire them, Mexican citizens would not be enticed into crossing the border illegally.

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[1] 24% of 25 camps on which this information was obtained had been inspected.

[2] 11% of 18 camps on which this information was obtained had been inspected (½ of all growers in the county).

[Arizona Labor Camps]

000 But there are farmers eager to hire illegal entrants. "They are my best pickers. They expect nothing and ask for nothing." Often wetbacks work, eat and sleep in the fields to avoid detection and deportation. Their presence further depresses wages and living conditions for legalled imported Mexican citizens and U. S. migrant workers like the Papagos.

SICKNESS

That sanitary conditions, or their lack, in southern Arizona labor camps constitute a clear and present danger to the health of their residents is proved by the concern growers and their wives living in the trading centers of the cotton growing area have finally shown in cleaning up the camps. Farmers themselves went to the point of organizing the Pinal County Health and Sanitation Committee.[1] This committee grew out of meetings with State Health Department officials in planning the health code later adopted.[2] It is cooperating with the State Health Department in making known provisions of the new code.[3]

Conditions in labor camps had to reach a low that was shocking to make trading town residents realize the threat to their own health diseased labor camp inhabitants comprised. Diptheria is ordinarily a comparatively rare disease in Arizona, yet late in November, 1950, the State Health Department had to rush a supply of serum to the Eloy area in Pinal county when 4 children were stricken in one camp.[4] The children felled by diptheria were Anglos, but the camp included 2 Papago families among its residents. One family had two boys in school--their father worked in the cotton fields so they might attend public school. The other family had two little girls, one about 2, the other less than a month old, sleeping trustfully in a fly-tight screened crib.

164 Earlier in the 1950 picking season, typhoid struck down a picker in the Casa Grande area. His death was not reported to the State Department of health; his family, with a child apparently already coming down with the disease, left for California.[5]

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[1] Coolidge Examiner, Dec. 8, 1950.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Nov. 30, 1950.
[3] Casa Grande Dispatch, April 5, 1951.
[4] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 30, 1950.
[5] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 4, 1950.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

164 At the end of the 1950 season when harvesters were gleaning the last bits of fiber from the fields, spinal meningitis killed a baby and his 4-year old sister and hospitalized 6 other residents of a labor camp in the Stanfield area. State Health Department officials charged filthy conditions in the camp were responsible,[1] and treated 50 camp inhabitants with sulfa drugs after posting officers to quarantine the camp.[2]

These are conditions threatening permanent residents of the cotton growing counties, and Papago and other migrant workers who live in labor camps. This is why a reservation town like Santa Rosa can be virtually prostrated by influenza at the end of the picking season when the Desert People return to their reserves.

952 Some ills Papagos fall heir to in camps are more or
less special cases, like the woman whose foot was run o-
ver by a car in Magdalena. Once in a while some one is
164 bitten by a spider. The Desert People are susceptible to
842 colds and pregnancy, as one farmer put it. But one ser-
ious problem they share with many Southwestern Indians
853 is a tendency to feed infants an unsuitable diet. In one
165 labor camp 2 Papago babies died during the summer of 1950
from stomach disorders apparently resulting from eating
green fruits in excess and other unsuited foods.

75 The health problem of the Desert People is compounded
by their reluctance to submit to European medical treat-
177 ment. Papago attitudes toward European medicine vary a great deal, from educated individuals who rely on it to conservative families who have nothing to do with it. These most Papago of Papagos baffle farmers who trust in Western medicine implicitly and cannot fathom Papago reasons for not accepting it. One grower, himself of a minority group, could not understand how Papagos could "just lay there and die." But they can, and do, because they know nothing else. Their trust is in native medical practicioners. They do not turn to Western doctors because there have not been enough provided by the Indian Bureau to care for them, and the Papago medical staff has not effectively "sold" itself to the Desert People. All their training has taught the Desert People a system of disease and curing concepts totally different from those of the European doctor's.

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Feb. 6, 1951.

[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb. 6, 1951.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

SAFETY

362 Germs are hardly the only threats to life and well-being in southern Arizona labor camps. There are all the diseases that do not require an insect transmittor besides those carried by flies, and there is fire, which man has put to work for him but never completely mastered. The suggested labor camp code we are using to measure Arizona camps has a section covering safety provisions:

> "(a) All buildings or structures of a camp in which persons are housed must conform to all applicable standards with respect to fire protection. Where no adequate standards relating to fire protection exist, the commissioner...shall, in cooperation with the appropriate officials, set up standards for the protection of the camp occupants against fire. Each structure in which six or more people congregate or sleep shall have two doors located at opposite ends of the structure. Such exits shall not be blocked.
>
> "(b) Units of fire-extinguishment equipment shall be so located that a person will not have to travel more than 100 feet from any point to reach the nearest unit and at least 1 unit shall be provided for each 1,000 square feet of floor space.
>
> "(d) If chemical fire-fighting equipment cannot be provided, 1 open barrel containing 50 gallons of water, with 2 fire pails attached, will be considered as constituting 1 unit of fire-extinguishment equipment."[1]

362
466 Pima and Pinal county cotton farmers gamble with human life in this respect as they frequently do by their failure to house their harvest laborers in sanitary camps. Labor camps with chemical fire-fighting equipment are so rare as to be virtually non-existent. The only 50 gallon open barrels of water for fire protection noticed in the course of this study were located at the ends of long rows of baled cotton in storage yards of cotton gins. White gold is money, but if a laborer dies

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 43.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

362 in a labor camp fire the grower isn't out anything but
466 a picker who can be quickly replaced.

165 Fires do take an annual toll in labor camps. They destroy the young: William West, who burned to death when a gas stove exploded in a labor camp, was only 2½.[1] They destroy without regard to occasion: Cecil Spikes, in his middle thirties, died in a labor camp fire on Christmas Day, 1950.[2]

362 To a person who has seen many southern Arizona labor camps, the wonder is that there has not yet been a camp holocaust catching pickers in bed at night and wiping out an entire camp's population. Camp operators have taken almost no precautions against such a catastrophe. Even camps with a number of water hydrants would be at the mercy of an intense fire, for hydrants are seldom equipped with hoses that would put water close enough to a blaze to be effective. Buckets and pans are the labor camp resident's first line of fire defense--and almost his only line.

466 A definite threat to life and limb exists in labor camps in the form of unstable migrant workers, who are largely uncontrolled by any real supervisory authority. In Pima county about a third of the camps were totally unsupervised in 1950. Most of the rest were checked periodically by the farmers, and rarely camps were under supervision by a labor contractor.[3] In Pinal county farmers showed much less concern about what went on in their labor camps in 1950. Less than a fifth of the camps seem to have been under direct supervision by a grower or his wife. Just about a third of the camps were left to the care of a foreman, and an equal proportion were kept under more or less control by a contractor. In a few cases the foreman was a Papago Indian in charge of other Papagos. A few labor camps were completely without supervision of any sort.[4]

[578] General lack of farmer supervision over camps, combined with lack of efficient rural law enforcement in both counties by sheriff's offices in 1950 allowed tension ridden camps far too high an incidence of violence.

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 29, p. 13a.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 28.
[3] Based on information from 12 camps.
[4] Based on information from 15 camps.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

674 578 A glance at newspaper files gives examples of the physical danger labor camp residents live under. George Butler, a farm worker, was knifed in the throat in a roadside tavern by another cotton picker in Pinal county.[1] Leonard Baker was shot outside the tent he shared with a common-law wife in a Pima county camp.[2] The mystery surrounding the death of a Papago man found on the desert in Pinal county remains unsolved at this writing.

The Eloy area is infamous for its deaths by violence in recent years of cotton field expansion. Cotton picker Alonzo Davis is in the Arizona State Prison after killing a friend in a labor camp in a drunken stupor.[3] Another cotton picker beat a drinking companion's brains out with a pipe to rob him.[4] An itinerant harvester accused the postmaster of witholding his mail, and gunned him down on the street before being slain by a wounded deputy sheriff.[5] And these are only examples.

[839] Death is not the only form of violence the non-aggressive Desert People face in labor camps. A 14 year old Papago school girl was raped by 3 men who seized her as she carried home her groceries one night in 1950.[6]

COSTS

362 466 In spite of their great dependence on hands living in their labor camps, southern Arizona farmers don't invest much in labor efficiency in the farm of good labor housing in their camps. This fact is obvious to anyone driving the highways of Pinal or Pima county. But stating the fact in terms of dollars is very difficult, due to marked reluctance of cotton growers to discuss the amount they have invested in camp housing. This reluctance, we may guess, springs from a guilty conscience over the poor quality of the labor camps, and past experience with unfavorable publicity in city newspapers.

The meager data which could be gathered in this study indicates, though it does no more than indicate, that the average cotton farmer in the region spends some $4,000 on his labor camp.[7] Actually an average of labor camp costs

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 6, 1950.

[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, April 21, 1951.

[3] Sloter, n.d., p. 13

[4] Ibid., p. 17.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 23-27.

[6] Tucson Daily Citizen, Sept. 25, 1950.

[7] Data on original investment in labor housing was obtained

[Arizona Labor Camps]

466 means little because of tremendous variation in physical
362 form of southern Arizona labor camps, which has been
discussed previously.

AGE

362 A few of these temporarily inhabited rural villages run by cotton farmers on their farms have been used a long time--up to 40 years. But most of them are quite new since the great gamble on expanded cotton production is of very recent date; mainly during and after World War II. Most labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties have had little time to deteriorate.

Because construction differs so greatly, figures on age of camps have comparatively little meaning in terms of camp quality. The average in 1950 seemed to be about 5 years--6 years in Pima county where some camps in use a long time lengthened the average, and 4 years in Pinal county where the main expansion in acreage has occurred in years immediately past.[1]

LEISURE TIME

512 For 6 days of the week, the pickers are in the fields
461 with the sun. On 5 days they quit work from about 3 p.m.
to sun down, and are ready for sleep soon after eating an
evening meal, although there is time for a little drinking
[527] or gambling for the men. On Saturday the evening is free
after an afternoon shopping trip, and Sunday is a day of
rest.

466 Cotton farmers show almost no realization that their
466 hands have any leisure time by providing recreational fac-
526 ilities. The only form of recreation provided in any of
the camps studied by the writer was a base-ball field.
519 These were generally simply cleared spots where ball could
529 be played, and employees furnished their own equipment.
Only about a seventh of the camps seem to have had even
000 this elemental form of reacreation.[2] Of necessity, much

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[362] from only 8 farmers in both counties. Their investment
[466] averaged $4,487.50 per farm, but since one farmer of the
group had two camps, investment per camp averaged only
$3,988.89.

[1] Based on information on 28 camps averaging 5.3 years old.
Pima county: 17 camps studied averaged 6.3 years old.
Pinal county: 11 camps studied averaged 3.8 years old.

[2] 3 of 21 labor camps on which data was obtained.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

517 of necessity, much
527 more reliance is placed by harvest hands on forms of
amusement requiring a minimum of equipment and space:
drinking, crap shooting, card playing, sexual indulgence.

797 Cotton pickers hauled from towns each day of course
had recreational resources of those population centers at
527 their disposal. They could attend church on Sunday.
Farmers make little effort to provide access to churches
[563] for their employees in labor camps. For some cotton pickers
racial discrimination is a problem. As one Negro woman
at Marana said, "There's a church over there, all
right. But we don't know if they take colored. We don't
go." For Catholic Papagos as Catholic Mexican-Americans,
this is no problem. But farmers don't provide Sunday
transportation to trading towns. The Desert People stay
in labor camps on the Sabbath, except for a few from San
Xavier who can take a bus home for the day occasionally.

527 About half the Papago women in the camps do some
washing on Sunday.[1] An occasional individual picks some
cotton, but most simply loaf around camp with nothing
[778] constructive to occupy them. Sonora Catholics make their
household shrines in a corner of their cabins, and use
527 them. In labor camps where all residents are Papagos, or
where there are many of the Desert People in a large camp,
346 they take over an empty cabin to furnish a chapel where
they can hold their services.[2] One far-sighted farmer who
understood his Papago employees built a fine chapel for
them when he constructed a new concrete block camp, but
such understanding is indeed rare. Labor camp chapels
seem to serve a quarter of the Papago harvest hands.[3]

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[1] Based on information from 8 families.

[2] "Sonora Catholicism antedates other Christian faiths on
527 the Reservation today, for the belief and practice of Sonora
797 Catholics are remnants of the teachings of the early
Spanish missionaries, acquired either directly from the padres,
795 or through other Indians or Mexicans. During the
346 generations when no Catholic clergy came to Papagueria
and the nearest priests were far away in Mexico, the faithful
[777] carried on as best they could the ceremonies and devotions
of the church.

"With the absence of priests and the passage of time,
[178] much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Sonora
[779] Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass,
no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage
ceremony. Children are baptised by godparents, and
the people bury their own dead." Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 81-82.

[3] Based on information from 8 families.

IN THE FIELDS ...

000 Throughout the long period it has been grown as a domesticated crop, cotton has been harvested by hand. Human beings have picked the white fibers out of bursting bolls handful by handful. This is the last major agricultural process to be mechanized in the U. S. The mechanical gin made possible large-scale cotton production in modern times, and created conditions of human slavery in the United States to answer the demand for more cotton production. Tractors have replaced horses in front of plows. Although cotton "chopping" has been mainly a hand job, cultivators have replaced slaves with hoes to a great extent, and now chemical weed killers, sprayers and boll-weavil destroyers bid fair to mechanize cotton cultivation completely. Harvesting is still the bottleneck in cotton production.

Mechanical cotton pickers or strippers have only been able to compete economically with hand picking since World War II. And few picking machines are yet available in the cotton fields. It is still the "hand" who harvests the white fibers.

461 Picking cotton is hard work. Ditches are uneven underfoot between rows of plants catching at hands and clothes. Pickers' hands must fly to pull the white fiber from the bolls fast enough to make any weight and money. As they add cotton to their sacks, pickers add to the weight they must drag along the ground by a strap over the shoulder or around the waist.

ETHNIC GROUP HIRING

000 Arizona's harvest hands have many and varied origins. Farmers have different opinions of the relative worth of laboring groups. More hire Spanish-speaking pickers than any other group. In Pima county over four-fifths of the farmers hired Spanish-speaking pickers in 1950.[1] Almost as many proportionately hired them in Pinal county—over three-fourths of the farmers apparently.[2] Next most frequently hired group in 1950 was the Anglo—meaning any non-Spanish-speaking, non-Negro, non-Indian picker. Approximately three-fourths of the farmers hired Anglos in Pinal county as did a substantial majority of Pima farmers.[3]

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[1] 28 of 34 or 82% hired them.
[2] 52 of 68 or 76% hired them.
[3] 53 of 68 or 73% in Pinal and 19 or 34 or 56% in Pima county hired them.

000 Indians and Negros are hired with about the same frequency to pick southern Arizona cotton, with Indians having a slight edge. Just over three-fourths of Pima county farmers hired Indians, and just over half Pinal county farmers did.[1] [464] The Papago Indians make up the greatest part of the Indian labor contingent. The Desert People and Negros are hired on southern Arizona cotton farms with about the same frequency. Both groups were hired on about three-fifths of Pima county farms and on over two-fifths of those in Pinal county in 1950.[2]

Negro cotton pickers, however, tend to work in larger groups. The average number working on each farm hiring them was over 17.[3] The Spanish-speaking hands were employed in slightly smaller groups, averaging just over 16 on each farm hiring them.[4] These figures reflect the frequency with which Negros and Spanish-speaking pickers worked in crews of a single ethnic group—their own.

Anglos hired in Pinal county averaged in 1950 more individuals per farm than any other group: about 20 per farm.[5] But in Pima county the average number of Anglos hired was the least of any ethnic group, only about 6 per farm.[6] This difference mirrors the considerably higher proportion of non-white pickers hired in Pima county as compared to Pinal.

464 Papago Indians working in Pinal county generally worked among larger groups of their tribesmen than those in Pima. Several farms hiring only Papagos were studied in Pinal county; none in Pima. There were over a dozen Papagos on farms hiring them in Pinal county in 1950; but only about 9 in Pima.[7]

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[1] 26 of 35 Pima county farms on which data was obtained hired Indians--76½%. 36 of 68 Pinal farms did--53%.

[2] 31 farms of 68 on which data was obtained in Pinal county hired Papagos and 31 Negros--46%. 21 of 34 in Pima county hired Papagos and 21 hired Negros--62%.

[3] 275 on 16 Pinal county farms and 189 on 11 Pima county farms averaged 17.2 in each case.

[4] 490 on 30 Pinal county farms averaged 16.3 per farm. 290 on 18 Pima farms averaged 16.1 per farm.

[5] 27 farms studied hiring 535 Anglos averaged 19.8.

[6] 9 farms studied hiring 55 Anglos averaged 6.1.

[7] 28 farms studied in Pinal county hired 350 Papagos, and averaged 12½ per farm. (90% of farms visited hiring Papagos). 13 farms in Pima county hired 121 Papagos, averaging 9.3 per farm (62% of farms studied hiring Papagos.)

000 After the Desert People, the Indians most commonly employed on farms in Pima and Pinal counties were Yaquis. Of 65 non-Papago Indian cotton pickers enumerated in this study, 42 were Yaquis (and the number actually employed was of course much larger. Other tribes represented in the 1950 cotton harvest force were Choctaw (9 counted in this study), Cherokee (5), Pueblo (5), Pima (3--however many hundreds of Pimas work in the Salt River valley), and Sauk (1). In Pima county about a fifth of the cotton [464] farmers employ Yaquis,[1] some hiring both Papagos and Yaquis.

PAPAGOS

464 The approximately 2,000 Desert Peoples harvesting cotton in 1950 were good pickers. Employers are generally agreed Indians pick the cleanest cotton, which means money in the grower's pocket. (Lint grades better if it is not stained by leaves and dirt; and the gins penalize for too much trash.) Employers are also generally of the 461 opinion that Indians are slower than other pickers, with 464 Yaquis picking faster than Papagos. Usually they feel slower speed about offsets cleaner picking. Actually, it is doubtful whether Indians are any slower. Papago 433 men seem to average over 200 pounds of upland cotton per day.[2] This is probably quite near the average of all 461 pickers. The average amount picked by one man day's labor in Pinal county in a 1948 study was 188 pounds.[3] Papagos interviewed by the writer varied in picking speed from 128 pounds per day to 300. Indian pickers seem to set themselves a steady pace which can be maintained through the day. Other pickers tend to pick fast early in the day, bringing in heavy sacks on their first weigh-in, but slowing up during the day as they become fatigued. This writer feels employers usually remember the first weight of the day, so conclude Indians are slower pickers--seldom do employers keep track of pickers' daily totals.

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[1] 8 of 26 Pima county farms hiring Indians hired Yaquis; these 8 were 23% of those studied (70% of total cotton acreage in the county).

[2] Based on data from 8 men who knew their picking speed, ranging from boys to middle age, 6 working in Pinal and 2 in Pima county. They averaged 211 pounds per day each.

[3] Ballantyne, 1950.

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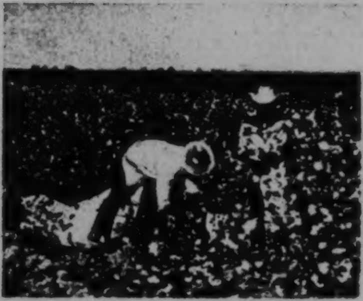
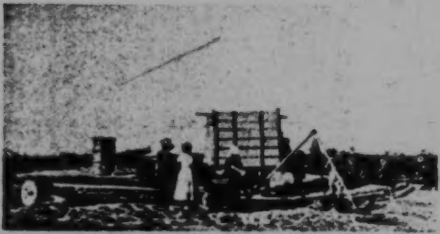
Picking is two-hand work . . .
you have to move fast . . .



and you have to stoop down low . . .



drink your water out of a barrel . . .

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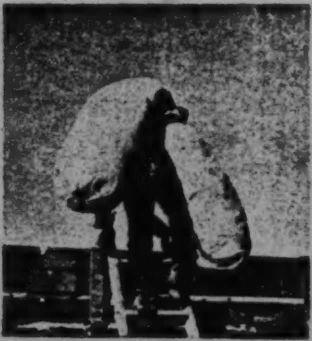

and climb up high . . .

but the pay is very welcome.

465 The standard rate for picking upland cotton in southern Arizona during the 1950 season was $3.00 per 100 pounds. So the average daily wage for Papago men was approximately $6.00, with a range from about $3.85 up to $9.00.

462 Papago women apparently are slower pickers than their
husbands. They seem to average about 150 pounds a day of
465 upland cotton.[1] This would give them a daily wage of
$4.50. For the 5½-day work week Papago men averaged about
$33 and their wives about $25. However, since women
generally take time off from picking to wash clothes, do
some cooking, clean up the cabin, etc., it is likely that
many of them earn no more than $12 to $15 per week.
There were 17 weeks between September 1, 1950, and the
434 end of the year. The hypothetical average Papago man
could have earned some $560 picking cotton over this period.
His wife could have added about $200 to $425 depending
on how many days in the week she worked. In families
with husband and wife picking, income for the season
could run $750 to $1,000. It is extremely doubtful if any
Papago family actually earned so much.

461 One reason income of the Desert People in the fields
273 is lower than the theoretically possible figure is that
they do not seem to put in a full work week. Their work
[434] week is nearer 4½ than 5½ days,[2] lumping men and women
together. This simply indicates men put in a full 5½ day week, but women only work about half the days in the week. An important factor in time lost from work by the Desert People is liquor. Cotton farmers are almost unanimous in their condemnation of Indian drinking. The usual opinion is Papagos start drinking Friday night, and are unable to work Monday, wobbly Tuesday, at full steam Wednesday. Of course, this picture in farmers' minds has been painted by exceptional individual Papagos and doesn't represent accurately the situation for all Papagos. But it does reflect the great amount of time lost by many Papago individuals because of their drinking habits.

461 Another cause of lost working time for Papago har-
796 vesters is the religious celebration. Most important is
the fiesta of St. Francis in October. Many farmers throw
up their hands then, and gripe loudly about families that

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 71]

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[1] Only 3 women told the author how much they picked, and 1 worked a short day. They averaged 130 pounds per day.

[2] 8 Papagos in both counties who didn't lose time from drunkenness worked 37 days in the week preceeding their interview, an average of 4.6.

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Children played under mother's watchful eye . . . in the forest of cotton stalks . . .

or alone at the edge of the field . . .

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with Anglo, Mexican-American (and Negro) children . . .

or alone in the camp.

461 leave for two or three weeks or a month. However, the
usual pilgrim to Magdalena, or Chuwhiy Guwsk at this
796 time loses only one work-week, and those going to San
Xavier less. Secondary fiestas in point of time lost
from work are the fiesta of St. Francis in December at
San Xavier and All Souls at the beginning of November.

461 The graph of migration to the fields shows that some
families start picking as late as November. If they come
434 in the middle of the month and work until the first of
221 the year at average speed, the man and wife can earn a-
bout $280. More than likely they will go to San Xavier
December 2, take time off at Christmas, and work only 5
weeks, earning perhaps $230 for their abbreviated season.

Families coming to work during October make more, of course. Those starting to pick in September approach the maximum possible for harvesters to earn. Assuming the worst possible about a family; that the husband loses 2 days each week from hangovers, making only $21 a week, and that the family leaves for Magdalena the first of October and goes home to the reservation until after All Souls, and then spends a week away from work at San Xavier's Saint's Day in December, having come to work the second week in September to begin with, husband and wife should each make about $200, a total of some $400 for the worst conceivable family.

A family which starts work about mid-September, loses the first week of October at fiesta, and spends a week at home sometime during picking season is apparently an average family. It would receive approximately $535 during the season.

The picture for American-Egyptian cotton is somewhat
461 different from upland. The bolls are smaller and sharper,
433 and the lint harder to pick out. Papago men and women
seem to pick this type cotton at about the same speed.
Both sexes average around 100 pounds per day.[1]

434 At the rate in 1950 of $5.00 per hundred pounds, a
husband would make $27.50 for a 5½ day week. If his wife
461 picked 3½ days, the team would earn $45, and if she picked
every day, they would receive $55 for their week's work.
[221] The "average" family picking American-Egyptian cotton from

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[1] Admittedly this figure is based on a very small sample, only 2 men and 2 women.

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[466]
mid September and losing 2 weeks for trips would earn about $585 during the season. Although this is $50 or so under the amount the same family might make picking upland cotton, the Desert People are willing to pick American-Egyptian varieties. This is a point in their favor with cotton farmers, who have a difficult time hiring enough pickers to harvest long staple plantings. It is 1 reason growers favor Indian cotton pickers--they pick whatever cotton is in front of them, American-Egyptian or upland, scattered or thick, without grumbling. They don't sneak clods or rocks into their sacks to make weight, but on the contrary pick clean, high grading fiber. These are most attractive traits to farmers harrassed by more articulate hands willing to trim profit-fat farmers by sharp practice if possible.

PAYMENT

465 Information gathered in this study indicates there is no differences in cotton pickers' payment for any reason other than growers bidding for labor. Over most of the picking season, pickers of every size, age, and description receive a standard price for their cotton, agreed on beforehand by growers. In 1950 this standard piece-work rate was $3.00 per 100 pounds of upland cotton and $5.00 or $6.60 per 100 of American-Egyptian. Toward the end of the season there was some variation as growers bid for the shrinking supply of labor willing to clean up picked-over fields. Some paid $7 per 100 for long-staple picking. Some paid $2.25 and some $2.50 for "snapping" upland--breaking bolls off entire from the stems. Others paid $3.00 for picking what could be picked and snapping the rest.

There is no such uniformity in method of payment. A majority of growers pay off their hands in cash every time the picker weighs a sack of cotton, or every evening for the weight picked that day.[1] The practice of keeping a cash box in the field to pay pickers as they weigh in is commoner in Pima than in Pinal county. Almost two-thirds

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[1] 44 growers of 85 who gave information paid in cash: 52%. The 85 planted 28,630 acres of cotton, averaging 336.8 acres, 2.3 larger than the average of all farms studied, so they may be taken as quite representative.

465 of the Pima county farmers pay cash,[1] while the proportion falls under half in Pinal county, to just over two-fifths of the growers.[2]

About half as many farmers as pay in cash use cotton tickets. These are pasteboards slightly larger than the ones a ticket-taker tears up when you go to a play. They are printed in job-shops of country weekly newspapers of the cotton country. The name of the grower or contractor identifies the ticket. Around the edge are printed series of figures, so the weighman in the field punches out the number of pounds of cotton a picker weighs in. Punched tickets may be cashed by the grower himself. More often he arranges with a storekeeper to honor his tickets. One woman real estate broker did a land-office business in 1950 cashing tickets for growers around Eloy. If a grower cashes his own tickets, he usually does so at regular intervals, often a week. Slightly over 20% of the farms in both counties apparently use tickets,[3] with this method of payment about twice as popular in Pinal as in Pima county.[4]

Various sorts of written accounts are third most prevelent among payment methods, and the most open to abuse, especially in picking crews with a weighman speaking a different language than their own. The account-keeping technique least open to cheating on either side was a system of giving each picker a receipt from an ordinary receipt book with his weight of cotton written on it, the weighman keeping a carbon copy. Most accounts seen in this study were kept in ruled books by the weighman and pickers either did not receive a receipt, or did only when they requested one. Pickers whose weights were kept in such accounts went longest between pay-days of any found in this study. Some were paid only every 2 weeks, and 1 for some unknown reason was paid at the odd interval of every 8 days. Slightly less than a fifth of the growers used an account system.[5] Again this method was used about

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[1] 22 growers of 34 giving data (with 9,026.5 acres of cotton averaging 265.4 acres each or 6.8 less than the county average indicated by this study)—65%.

[2] 22 growers of 51 giving data (with 19,603½ acres, averaging 384.4 acres or 6.6 more than the county average indicated in this study)—43%.

[3] 19 of the 85 farms, or 22%.

[4] 5 of 34 farms in Pima county or 15% used tickets; 14 of 51 in Pinal or 27½% used them.

[5] 16 of the 85 farms giving information used accounts, 19%.

465 twice as often in Pinal as in Pima county,[1] and it was used most often with non-English speaking crews--Spanish or Papago speaking pickers.

A small proportion of the growers, all large enough cotton farmers to use more than one picking crew, used some mixture of these three methods of payment.[2] And in Pima county one grower's cotton was being picked by a Negro family which received a share of the proceeds for the entire cultivation and harvesting of the crop.[3]

427 The small incidence of share-cropping in southern
Arizona contrasts strongly with the American South, and
465 is reminiscent of South Africa, where rarely native
tenants clear prickly pear from European farmers' land
466 for building and grazing rights. There, as in Arizona, almost all farmers pay their native laborers cash.[4] Another Arizona contrast to the old South is a lack of company stores. Groceries operated by cotton farmers on their farms are very rare, occurring on only about 2 or 3 farms out of a hundred.

465 Out in the cotton field where harvesters work and
466 are paid or credited with cotton they have picked, the man or woman at the scales is the key figure in the economic scene. The weigher pays off.

In Pima county cotton growers with smaller farms usually do this task themselves, and a high proportion of Pima county operators spend their days in the fields during picking season. In Pinal county the owner may drop by the field once in a while in his shiny Buick, but an employee or contractor mans his scales. The weigher received quite uniformly 25¢ per hundred pounds of cotton weighed in 1950.

A good majority of weighers or contractors and a few men employed to tramp down cotton in trailers took advantage of their strategic location to make some extra money off harvesters. They brought bottled sodas to the fields for sale at 10¢ a bottle. Sometimes they iced the drinks, but often didn't bother.

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[1] In Pinal county 11 of 51 farmers, 22%. Pima was 5 of 34 or 15%.

[2] 5 of the 85, or 6%, 4 of 41 in Pinal and 1 of 34 in Pima county.

[3] 1 of 34 in the county studied.

[4] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.

271 466 While drinking water supplies in most of the region's labor camps were reasonably satisfactory and sanitary—if not very convenient—the story in the harvest fields had a different plot. Workers in the cotton harvest need a high water intake because the work is hard and hot. During the early part of the season, the blazing Arizona sun makes it even hotter, raising the water requirement. But in the fields is just where water is least available.

Cotton farmers or their contractors or foremen haul water to the fields for pickers to drink. But sometimes they fail to keep up with demand, and hands gripe and swear because they must work dry—and in danger from heat prostration. Fortunately for workers, these failures are comparatively rare.

Sanitary considerations are more or less forgotten in providing water for the hands in the fields. Some contractors provide barrels with spigots, but most in 1950 had acquired their containers hit or miss, and laborers got a drink by dipping from an open container. Even spigoted barrels usually sported only one drinking cup. Lack of individual drinking cups in the intense heat made ideal conditions for transmission of every contact-communicable disease.

264 466 461 Most harvest hands either ate prepared lunches in the fields about 10 or 11 a.m. (having started work at 7 or earlier), or walked back to the labor camp for a quick snack. However, many contractors profited off their crews by operating small stores at the scales where pickers could purchase soft drinks, pastries and other prepared foods, and tobacco products. A few performed a real service for their crews—at a price—by operating mobile lunch stands serving hot coffee and sandwiches and even hamburgers. Lunch fare of pickers observed in this study was far from ideal for hard workers.

WHY the Desert People work

461 The Desert People pick cotton because they need
464 the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton har-
vesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago
who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$8 a day
is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most
practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large
sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very
close to the concept of the economic man governed only
by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cul-
tural reasons for this attitude and need among the
Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

177 Originally the Papago people lived in a manner
quite different than they do today. After unknown
178 centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they
had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly
nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians.
But the Desert People have had some contacts with
Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half
centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed
to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not mean-
ings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own.
Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago
culture remain Indian in character. The most complete
and striking changes have probably occurred in the
economic spheres of life.

174
431 Once material goods apparently changed hands among
437 the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A
successful hunter divided his kill among families in his
[224] village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some
of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount
roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an eco-
nomic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond
its numbers for aid.

175 When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People
797 they set out to change the Indians spiritually and eco-
177 nomically. They introduced new crops and domestic ani-
[231] mals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Mission-
[241] aries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange
system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvest-
[465] ing and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

175
177 at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange
797 idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain.
[465] At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to
[439] work and trade for money. But their homeland economy was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

Anglos established the first stores the Desert
177 People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of
439 foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were
464 in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and
465 goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource--their own labor--into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

46 The role Papago women have played in these changes
177 cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather
439 the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology--irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. --made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

461 This need for cash is recognized by the realistic
464 Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.

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464 Probably the whole body of Papago cotton harvesters earned a gross income in the neighborhood of $600,000 in 1950.[1] This amount very likely represents about half the total cash income of the Papago Indians in 1950. Added to wages earned in the Ajo and reservation mines, working for the government, the Tribe, traders, and the highway department and in domestic service, and the wages of Papago farm workers during the rest of the year, this figure probably represents a total wage labor income comprising over 60% of all Papago income.[2]

511 The $600,000 gross cotton picking income estimate does not represent anywhere near that amount in take-home to the reserve pay, however. Workers must support themselves while they are picking cotton, pay for their pilgrimmages on religious occasions, for any trips they take back to the reserves during picking season, and for clothes and food purchased against lean days without work after picking is done.

During the war it was estimated that $50 of every $100 received by Papagos was spent by them in the trading posts on their reserves at once.[3] Since many Papagos were in the services or doing defense work who are now on the reserves or picking cotton, the proportion is probably only slightly lower. Almost as much went into the coffers of merchants outside the reserves during the war[4] and this amount has increased if anything at the expense of reservation traders. In any case, the Desert People can return home with little cash.

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[592] [1] Calculated as follows: Average seasonal income per family with man and wife picking is about $600 ($635 in upland or $585 in American-Egyptian, but a family usually had to pick some of both) assuming the workers starting before September approximately balance those starting later. The number of families with $600 gross income in 1950 was about 1,000 (figuring 2 pickers per family in a labor force of 2,000). Actually income was probably higher because of additional amounts earned by children after school hours and on holidays, and those families with more than 3 steady pickers, and families in which wives worked a full week.

[2] Laboring wages made up 56% of Papago income in 1947, and the figure is undoubtedly higher now. Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 31.

[3] Program, Papago Reservations, 1944, p. 43.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

ECONOMIC NECESSITY

Basic reasons Papagos Work--

433 In a rural area, there are not many choices of
[463] livelihood--farming, mining, lumbering, raising cattle.
The Papago reservations have no timber worth cutting
[657] other than mesquite trees for firewood. The Papago
[313] reservations are the only lands in the U. S. reserved
for Indians which are open to mineral entry by out-
[316] siders. Consequently mining claims are held by non-
Papagos, and profits go elsewhere. The only way the
[464] Desert People can benefit from mines is by selling
their labor to the owners.

241 Farming is risky for the Desert People. Only two
communities have irrigated lands which can be depended
311 upon for crops. The rest must resort to age-old tech-
niques of flood farming where arroyos spread flood
433 waters from mountains. Spots that can be farmed this
way are not abundant. They are being decreased each
summer as gullies wash out fields and arroyos cover
them with sterile sand and gravel washed down from over-
grazed and eroding slopes above. Flood farming was
never more than a subsistence measure because of the
size limitation on fields, and frequent crop failures
from flooding out, frost, or drought. Today, there is
little incentive to gamble on a subsistence farm for any
Papago able to speak enough English to get a job. For
[464] wage labor means a super-subsistence income, even if a
[511] substandard one by Anglo lights.

Probably every worker on the Papago reservations
241 has noticed the steady abandonment of flood farms. A-
433 mong Papago cotton pickers with these farms, less than
half apparently bother to plant any crops at all nowa-
464 days.[1] Cotton picking starts just about the time fields
need weeding on the reserves, and picking season hits
221 its peak just about the time flood field crops are ready
to harvest. This conflict between flood-farm growing
season and wage-labor season in the cotton fields re-
sults in many Papago laborers not planting crops at all
on the reserves.

433 Another factor discouraging flood farm planting is
241 that these small plots produce only subsistence crops
461 at best, even if the gamble against drought and over-

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[1] 5 families of 11 giving information had any crops at all in 1950.

433 flooding and grasshoppers is won. This subsistence
241 scale, risky enterprise cannot long compete against
[461] the surplus-over-subsistence earned in the cotton
fields.

The crops Desert People working in the 1950 cotton harvest did plant on the reserves were not even on a subsistence scale. The few beans or squash, the patch of melons they actually planted were no more than a supplement at most.

464 Clearly an important reason Papagos sell their la-
471 bor is that a high proportion do not even have flood
423 farms where they could try to farm if they wished to.
Probably nearly half the Desert People picking cotton
in 1950 had no fields.[1]

233 For Papagos who cannot farm, there is still a
433 possibility of raising cattle. However, xerophytic
[137] desert vegetation is not particularly well suited to
[132] fattening cattle--thorns don't make fat. Rainfall on
reserve lands is very scanty, and good stands of grass
are small and undependable.

231 Among Papago cotton pickers of 1950, nearly half
422 the families owned cattle.[2] However, some of them
actually had only 1 cow, and the average number of head
owned by each family was only a dozen.[3]

One difficulty for Papago cattlemen is that horses
are kept by most families, taking up range that could
support more beef animals. These horses are not es-
pecially good stock--no one raises horses for export.
[492] But the Desert People are still mainly in the pre-
[493] automotive age of transportation. If they don't walk,
they generally must ride horseback or in a wagon pulled
by horses. Over three-fourths of Papago cotton pickers
in 1950 owned horses.[4] And each of these families kept
[621] 6 or 7 horses.[5] If it were not for an ordinance of the
[646] Papago Tribal Council restricting each family to not
more than 10 head of horses, horse population of the
reserved lands would undoubtedly be much higher.

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[1] 39 families gave information. 20 had their own fields, or 51%. (Only 2 were in irrigated projects, 5%) Fathers of 3 younger men had flood fields, 8%. So 41% had no flood fields in their extended family.

[2] 19 families of 40 questions owned cattle, 47½%.

[3] 8 families giving information owned 96 head, averaging 12 per family.

[4] 31 families of 40 questioned owned horses, 77½%.

[5] 21 families giving data owned 138, averaging 6.6 each.

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[133]
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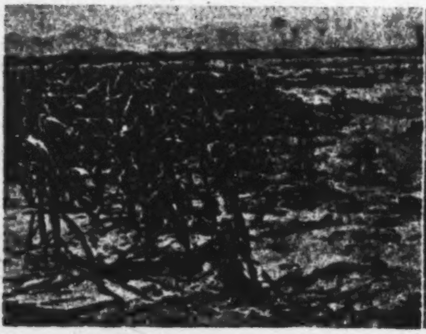
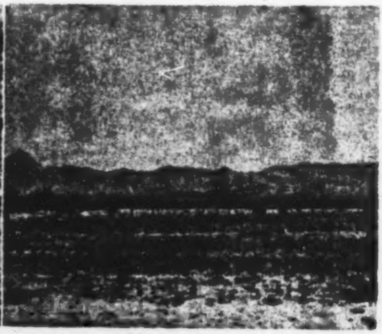


The corn-bean-squash fields are eroding and were always a gamble . . .



wheat stands are thin . . . and often don't ripen . . .

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the range is barren . . .

so cattle graze on cactus.

231 As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to
671 run just slightly under the number allowed on permits
422 assigned by the Council. Among families picking
cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

596 Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted
602 fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or
horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with
426 animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--
231 a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off
to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving
[603] children with their grandparents so they can continue
[871] uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates
the continuing economic function of the Papago extend-
[594] ed family. Although the biological family is the main
unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture
it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

464 On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities.
[797] A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians
[871] because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon edu-
cation, and good quality of denomination schools.

461 Many cotton harvesters recognise these fundamental
reasons for their working. When they expressed their
464 reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said
they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognised the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

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[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 18 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Cheky, 1949, p. 37.

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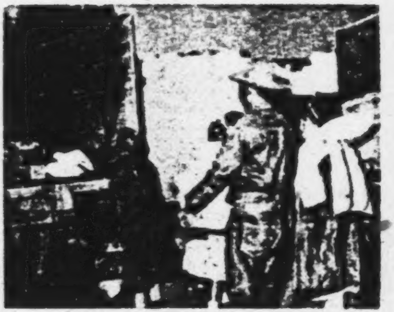
[302] →

The Desert People buy food in the supermarkets . . . the neighboring Chinese stores.

clothes . . .

[494] →

notions . . .



and ride back to camp in a truck.

461 464 454 261 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is reflected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the family through some of the months between harvest seasons. The quantity laid in is usually not large, probably enough for only a month or two.

432 439 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase most of their clothing while they are at work and earning money—and are near Anglo shopping centers where prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps 7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 871 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the cotton fields from a need for money, however. There are some determined parents who are thoroughly convinced both of the necessity for educating their children and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by moving to labor camps so their children may attend public schools where they have to learn to ocmpete with Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of [181] competition is generally absent from reservation schools despite the best efforts of teachers because students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations rather than competitiveness.

166 888 [462] Some older people go to labor camps because there is no one left on the reservation to care for them when the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I moved over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] Of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] Of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950—71%.

166 571 Purely social reasons are behind the journeys of many of the Desert People to labor camps. "I came just because the others from my village did," is one typical reason. Probably most such individuals have the same economic compulsions as the others, but come to work because it is the thing to do. Others economically more secure with larger fields or herds than most may come for that reason only: to be with the group.

574 Then there are frequent casual visitors to labor camps. Relatives come for a while just to visit, perhaps because they have married into another village.

461 It must be remembered that the concept of the economic man is seldom true in life. While the Desert People come very close to that concept on the whole in their incentives for working for wages, they are still human beings with many uneconomic thoughts and desires which they carry out without regard to dollars and cents. Actually, these basic economic reasons for Papagos laboring are not uppermost in Papago consciousness when cash is in demand. What they think of is the immediate occasion when money is needed.

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash
461 to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for
794 earning money. During the picking season three im-
796 portant religious events occur. These are the feast
days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier,
and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial
calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to
one or another, or all three.

Although several denominations have gained a foot-
795 hold among the Desert People, the vast majority are
184 orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950
were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly
divided between Protestants and individuals conscious-
ly rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native
forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian
church has the largest following among Protestant
groups, with six congregations on the reservation.
[797] There are other missions on the reservations. However,
missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come
484 the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Guwsk
788 at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys
primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint,
782 or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have
very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure
755 illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the
776 Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones
is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the
Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwsk) church.
Often the person vows to make four such visits, to
place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him
an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the
border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

78 Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health.
Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The
[776] Desert People bring statues and pictures from their
[778] household shrines and chapels to press against the
statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards
of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

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[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.
[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.

78 church, to be blessed and taken home to give those who couldn't come. But 9 Papagos out of 10 at one of the pilgrimmage towns in October, 1950, came to fulfill a vow.[1]

484 So important are these pilgrimmages to the Desert
788 People that almost three-fifths of the Papagos in the cotton fields in 1950 went to Magdalena, San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwsk for the October celebration.[2] In numbers, this apparently meant over 2,500 Papagos traveled from southern Arizona labor camps to one of these three churches.[3] Many more Desert People left their homes on the reserves to make their pilgrimmages, although the proportion was not as high because of the large number of Protestants among those remaining on the reserves during picking season, and lack of money to finance a pilgrimmage. Perhaps another 1,000 individuals made pilgrimmages from the reserves. Almost half the tribe went on the 1950 pilgrimmage.

This religious exodus affected virtually every cotton farm where Papagos worked to some extent.[4] The
[153] number of Papago pilgrims at Magdalena in 1950 seemed rather higher than the year before, apparently reflecting greater psychological stress in the tribe, perhaps arising from greater awareness of a critical economic position and unsettled world conditions again threatening young men. A fifth of the 1950 cotton harvesters had made a pilgrimmage in some previous year although they didn't in 1950.[5] indicating the high proportion of pilgrims returning.

Greatest of the 3 celebrations is that held on the day of St. Francis of Assisi, October 4. Pilgrims
[755] travel to all three churches where miraculous curing
[778] statues of St. Francis Xavier are located—Magdalena, San Xavier, and Chuwhiy Guwsk.

[361] The largest celebration leading up to the Oct. 4 rites galvanizes the small Mexican city of Magdalena, an adobe settlement located about 60 miles south of the
[755] international boundary in Sonora. Many are the stories of cures by its powerful statue, which is supposed to
[778] have come to the spot when burros bearing it northward for a procession of friars refused to proceed.

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[1] Based on 11 persons giving reasons for their trips.

[2] 23 of 40 individuals giving information made pilgrimmages, 57½%

[3] There were about 1,000 families with 4,500 Papagos in labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties in 1950.

[4] 9 of 10 farmers in Pima county and 10 of 10 in Pinal giving information lost some Papago workers.

[5] 8 of 40 giving information, 20%.

484 788 for a procession of friars refused to proceed. Most October pilgrims go to Magdalena--about 60% of the Papagos in the cotton fields who made a pilgrimmage in 1950.[1] Of 2,500 or so cotton picker pilgrims, about 1,500 were bound for Magdalena. If the proportion of reservation-dwellers going to the church where the Apostle of the Pimas, Eusebio Kino, was buried was the same as among cotton picking Papagos, some 600 of them saw Magdalena in 1950. A 2,100 total agrees closely with the estimate this writer made previously of the number of Papagos in Magdalena at fiesta time--2,000.[2]

Papago pilgrims in Magdalena stayed from a few hours to a week. The average sojourn in 1950 was 3 days.[3] Some hardy souls made a flying trip from the fields one night by bus, performing their duties to the Saint during the following day, and returning that night, reported back to work next morning. But usually the Desert People spent from 1 to 2 days traveling to and from Magdalena--a half day trip from Tucson including customs and immigrations formalities on both sides of the border.

494 484 788 About half the Papagos visiting Magdalena in 1950 traveled by bus--Greyhound in the U. S. and *Transportes Norte de Sonora* in Mexico.[4] Slightly less than half reached the fiesta on trucks, paying just over $7.00 on the average for this rough-and-ready transportation.[5] A few of the Desert People still made the slow wagon journey from their reservations to Magdalena in 1950, but authorities on both sides of the international boundary frowned upon the practice, and Mexican officials closed their border to wagons.

486 641 U. S. citizens entering Mexico are required to obtain "Tourist Permits" identifying the individual and entitling him to remain in that country for six months. Practice in regard to Papagos crossing the border has varied greatly in both Mexico and the United States because of difficulties in determining citizenship of Indians often speaking neither English or Spanish who may have been born on either side of the border and not know which. The migrations of the Desert People between

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 90]

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[1] 14 of 24 whose pilgrimmage goal was obtained went to Magdalena, 61%.

[2] Dobyns, 1950, p. 28. Contains fuller description of The Fiesta of St. Francis at Magdalena.

[3] Based on information from 8 individuals and observation of hundreds at Magdalena.

[4] Based on 6 of 11 giving information, much observation.

[5] 5 of 11 individuals giving data came by truck, paying $7.13 apiece roundtrip on the average.

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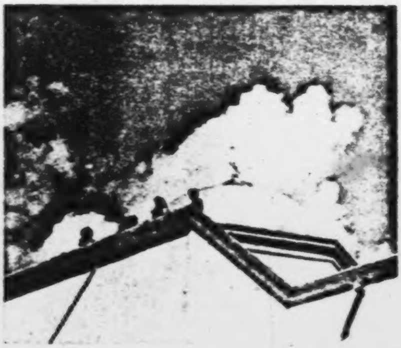
Half the Papago pilgrims came by bus.



Papago children explored the church founded by Eusebio Kino and Augustin de Campos over 250 years ago . . .

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or enjoyed a ride . . .

while their parents shopped for candles for San Francisco Xavier . . . and ribbons for stay at homes . . . and statues . . . and religious pictures . . . and milagros.

486 [641] their fields and springs on both sides of the boundary have given many virtually duel citizenship. So there is doubt as to whether the Papagos need "Tourist Permits." In 1950 apparently three-fourths of the Desert People who journeyed to Magdalena obtained "Tourist Permits" which cost $3 U. S. currency.[1]

786 527 [539] The Magdalena celebration is not wholly religious in character. The plazas of the town are jammed with flimsy booths of poles and mats selling toys, cloth, shoes, hardware, pottery, curios, and goods of every sort, as well as food and drink. There are games of chance, and amusements: merry-go-rounds and power rides; there are beauty parlors and dance halls.

This secular side of fiesta is not ignored by the Desert People. In fact, they join in whole-heartedly. Magdalena merchants look upon them as special guests of the town, welcome guests who are well-behaved and "rich." Every Papago questioned on the matter said he enjoyed his stay in Magdalena.[2]

[178] This great carnival with its colorful meeting of diverse cultures——Spanish, Papago, and Yaqui and Mayo Indian——seems to be the holiday of the year for the Desert People. Apparently it has largely replaced the old Papago New Year at the sahuaro-jack ceremony early in July as the major calendrical event. Such an occasion cannot lack its economic aspects.

511 435 788 The Papago pilgrim pays about $7.00 for his transportation. $3 more goes for a "Tourist Permit." Lodging for 3 nights during fiesta is expensive in Magdalena, since everyone doubles his price, and renting rooms never let at other times of the year is a primary industry of the place. Sleeping space in a room or in a patio near the main plaza in Magdalena costs about $2 U. S. per night.[3] This means another $6 expenditure for Papagos staying the average length of time. Eating for 3 days is not expensive at thrown-together restaurants on plazas and side streets. A satisfactory meal could be purchased for 3 pesos at a reasonably clean establishment. At night a feast (roast whole pig with fresh buns, tomato and vegetable for example) could be had for 4 pesos. Peddlers hawked

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[1] Of 13 Papagos giving information 10 obtained permits, or 77%.

[2] In this case, 8 individuals of 8. The author has seen 2 fiestas at Magdalena; has yet to see Papagos who didn't seem to be having a good time.

[3] Dobyns, 1950, p. 28.

511 435 788 fruits and sugar cane, baked goods and all sorts of manufactured articles. A couple of large ears of boiled green corn costing 40 centavos were almost a meal. With the exchange rate at almost 9 pesos to the U. S. dollar, the Desert People could eat cheaply in Magdalena. $4 for a three-day stay in 1950 was ample.

Thus a Papago pilgrim spending 3 days at the 1950 fiesta needed about $20 U. S. to travel to and from Magdalena, and eat and sleep while there. But probably every Papago spent more than that amount, and most spent considerably more. There were candles to be bought for the saint, coins to be left in his box, ribbons to buy, statues for the household shrine, and other religious mementos, including a colored pin or [273] a picture. And because Mexico does not discriminate against her Indian citizens in the matter of liquor as does the U. S., there was good Mexican beer and mescal and tequila to drink without let or hindrance. Most pilgrams probably spent $25 in 1950, and many spent up to $40 or $50 each.

788 San Xavier on the Papagos' own San Xavier reservation is not nearly so exciting as the Mexican town, but it is nearer and felt to be safer—many Papagos have an almost pathologic fear of Mexican pachucos. [197] Staffed with Franciscans, San Xavier is still an Indian church, still an Indian mission. To San Xavier go[1] from 15% to 20% of the pilgrims from the cotton fields. This is a much less expensive pilgrimage than the one to Magdalena. There is no town with its shops and bars (although the city of Tucson is only a dozen miles away for shopping). Bus fare is cheaper. The 450 to 500 Papago pickers making a pilgrimmage to San Xavier had tamer times.

Chuwhiy Guwsk is a relatively new goal for pilgrims. San Xavier and Magdalena were founded by the first Jesuit missionary to the Desert People, Fr. Eusebio Kino, before 1700. The present churches were built under later Franciscan friars in the Spanish colonial period. But Chuwhiy Guwsk was never the site of a mission. Just south of the international boundary in Mexico, it is still an Indian town. Mexicans from

[Text continues on P. 93]

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[1] 4 of 23 whose pilgrimmage goal was obtained went to San Xavier—17%.

Magdalena

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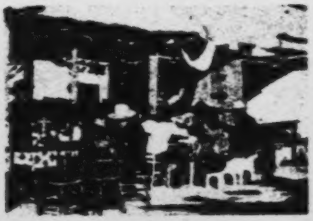
Papago pilgrims watched Yaqui and Mayo dancers fascinated . . . paid them hard-earned U. S. coin . . .



ate in sidewalk restaurants . . .

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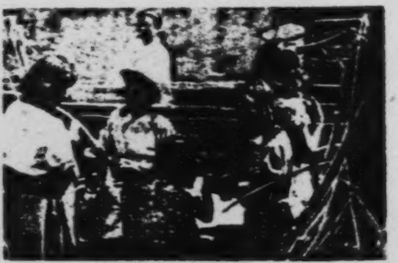

bought watermelons . . . boiled green corn . . . sugar cane . . .

and drank Mexican beer . . . mescal . . . tequila . . . in the sidewalk bars . . .

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even youngsters . . .

and passed out . . . to be helped home . . . before the police came.

788 the surrounding countryside are beginning to make the pilgrimmage there. The church was built by the Indians to house the statue which is believed by them to have appeared miraculously in the village only a few years ago. Chuwhiy Guwsk (the name means Jackrabbit Falls Down) is growing in importance as a goal for Papago pilgrims. In 1950 it attracted about a fifth of those making a pilgrimmage from labor camps, probably more than 500 people.[1] Reached by desert trails, the town is not serviced by a bus. Pilgrims reached it on trucks or in cars, or in wagons or on horseback. Most Desert People who traveled to one of the fiestas by wagon in 1950 visited Chuwhiy Guwsk. The town itself has no permanent water supply aside from its charco, and affords no power supply for bright lights. Portable generators were used in 1950 to light the few temporary bars and restaurants. The merchandise stuffed booths of Magdalena were absent, and the cost of a pilgrimmage was much lower.

461 221 788 [524] [466] A good many Papagos worked a trip to their homes on the reserves into their pilgrimmage before they went back to picking cotton. Their disregard of what most Anglos consider unbreakable rules for good working behavior baffles and irritates their employers. Pilgrims from Pima county labor camps lost an average of 5½[2] days from work, in effect a work week, varying from those gone a single day to families absent 3 weeks. In Pinal county, which is even more distant from the pilgrimmage towns, Papagos lost more time from work. Families stayed from 2 days to a month, averaging 9 days away from their picking jobs.[3] This amount of time taken from cotton harvesting just before the peak of the season is frequently incomprehensible to Anglo Protestant cotton growers, and is a black mark against Papago Catholic employees in their eyes.

484 788 511 [436] It seems quite likely that most Papago families making a pilgrimmage from a labor camp to Magdalena, Chuwhiy Guwsk or San Xavier in 1950 spent most or all that they had earned picking cotton up to that time on their pilgrimmage trip. The average sized family working in the cotton harvest needed $90 for transportation, food and lodging in Magdalena for the usual 3-day sojourn, and the added cost of drinking beer and

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[1] 5 of 23 individuals whose goal was obtained, 22%.
[2] Based on information from 8 farmers hiring Papagos.
[3] Based on 10 farms where information was obtained.

484 mescal and perhaps paying a small fine to get out of
788 jail next morning, buying presents for folks back home
511 and children, purchasing a new pair of boots or a coat
and donating to the Saint and buying ribbons and relics
435 to take home all added up. Probably most of the families going to Magdalena spent around $125.

788 While Chuwhiy Guwsk was not so expensive, and San
435 Xavier considerably less in cost, the nearly 600
Papago families making pilgrimmages from labor camps
511 spent at least $50,000 on the one religious celebra-
(796) tion on St. Francis of Assisi's day, and more than likely spent about $75,000. It is hardly surprising that Magdalena merchants are glad to see Papagos.

461 Acquiring this amount of cash to spend is undoubt-
511 edly a very strong motive behind Papago cotton field labor. Growers impatient with their Indians for taking off work at this time must realize that this fiesta is one main reason the Desert People work at all!

166 Most Papago families picking cotton in 1950 made
484 at least one trip home to the reserves. In fact, over
574 four-fifths of them returned home at least once.[1] Some made frequent trips to care for livestock or poultry, or just to have a good time at fiestas, and many made two trips, which was about average.[2]

484 About 7 trips of every 10 were made at All Souls
796 Day, the next important religious event after the
769 fiesta of St. Francis, and the next most important in number of Indian participants.[3] However, there are
(988) no centers for the observance of this day of memorial. Families scatter to their home towns where they visit graveyards to leave flowers and candles and pray for the dead.

484 The last of the trio of religious festivals falls
796 on Dec. 3, the day of St. Francis Xavier. (Actually the Desert People do not clearly distinguish between
(796) Saints Francis of Assisi and Xavier. The big fiesta on Oct. 4 was probably held originally Dec. 3, the day of Jesuit St. Francis Xavier, but was shifted by later

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[1] 20 families of 24 giving data returned, 83%.

[2] 23 families made 50 plus trips (some interviews being early in the season didn't include all trips). 6 Pima and 4 Pinal county farmers said their Papago hands averaged just over 2 trips home per family during picking season, much to their employers' annoyance.

[3] 14 of 20 trips of known purpose were at All Souls, 70%.

484 796 [788] Franciscan missionaries to the earlier date of their own St. Francis of Assisi). The fine old mission church at San Xavier del Bac is the goal of Papago pilgrims at that time. In 1950 about 15% of the Desert People picking cotton who left their jobs made the journey to San Xavier.[1]

541 One secular event in the fall competes with religious celebrations for the interest of the Desert People. This is their tribal rodeo staged at Sells. About 1 of 10 Papago cotton pickers attended one of the two-day 1950 performances.[2] Wage laborers were augmented by great numbers of stay-at-homes, who filled the 2,500-seat capacity stands both days with help of a few hundred Anglo visitors from Tucson and other southern Arizona towns.

166 524 484 844 [758] A few laborers return to the reserves for other reasons—some women go home to their mothers when they are due to parturate, although most seem to bear their babies in labor camps without medical aid. Sometimes a quick trip home is necessary to look after animals or other property. But generally when the Desert People go to labor camps, they go to work steadily through the season. They leave only for—to them—pressing reasons.

796 464 466 [782] [788] Most farmers hiring Indians realize that religious celebrations are very pressing reasons. Obligations the Desert People feel they must fulfill at these times rise above considerations of steady work. The vow to St. Francis comes before some farmer's cotton, or the Papago's own job, and he will go to one of those three churches regardless of other duties. Farmers who realize the importance to the Papagos of their religion are much happier men at fiesta time than those who regard a job as the most important thing in the world.

466 [461] [484] However, many farmers do not understand the religious beliefs of their Papago employees sufficiently to make allowances when Indians ignore prevalent Anglo work standards. And cotton growers resent the inconvenience involved in transporting Papagos. A Marana farmer remarked "One reason I never fool with Papagos is you have to take them to Sells 3 or 4 times a year." Another who hired Papagos griped that "Indians are more

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[1] 3 of 20 trips of known purpose were to San Xavier.
[2] 2 of 20 trips of known purpose were to the rodeo.

466 reliable but they're more trouble—you have to take
484 them to town, to the store, and you have to look after
them more than the others."

177 The Desert People working in the cotton harvest
meet farmers and other laborers under very special
571 conditions in labor camps and fields. But for a few
432 hours in the week they come into contact with a much
wider range of Anglo-American culture in trading cen-
439 ters where they shop. They enter into the buyer-seller
relationship prevalent in our society, in stores of
273 many kinds. They go to movies. They sit by trucks that haul them to town and watch the colorful harvest season crowds. They seek sympathetic or predatory men to buy liquor for them, since legally they cannot purchase it themselves. Then, they drink it as fast as possible so they won't loose the poor quality liquor they've been overcharged for if they're arrested. As a result they generally become staggering drunk and are arrested, contributing both cash and labor to the city governments of trading towns—and giving their tribe a black eye. Their few hours in town on Saturday afternoon make a deep impression upon the observant Desert People.

484 In Pima county, large-city Tucson is shopping day
439 goal for Papagos. They take a bus into the city about
once a month.[1] These are the shopping trips remembered
[494] by the Desert People, for in talking about their shopping, they didn't bother to mention more frequent trips to stores in Sahuarita or Marana where the center of town is no more than a general store or two and a garage.

In Pinal county the Desert People usually shop in the trading center nearest the labor camp where they live. The main shopping towns are Casa Grande, Eloy, Picacho, and Stanfield and Maricopa. The first three are towns of about 4,000 inhabitants. The others are "wide places in the road." To some extent Papagos go there, or to country stores at Friendly Corners, El Centro, etc., most of the time, looking forward to a trip to one of the towns every couple of weeks or once a month. The Indians go to one of the business centers Saturday afternoon, usually for 3 hours or more.[2]

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[1] 5 individuals giving information averaged 25.2 days between shopping days in Tucson.

[2] 18 Papagos giving information went to town every 7.4 days on the average.

484 But those few hours are enough for the Papagos
439 to spend about half their wages. During the war it
511 was estimated $40 of every $100 they received from labor, cattle, and produce went immediately to business men operating outside the reserves.[1] With the boom in cotton, and the boom for Papago pickers, probably even more is spent off the reserves today.

466 Most farmers who send a truck in to town with a
484 load of Indians seem to have learned they have fewer problems with drunkenness if the trucks return to the labor camps before dinner. The time the Desert People spend in town now is considerably less than it was a few years ago, when the streets were filled with Papagos long after dark. Then on Monday morning farmers went to city halls in numbers to find some of their laborers and pay their "$10 or 10 day" fines so they could go back to work.

273 Drinking is still the main sin Anglo employers hold against Papago farm workers, as well as the number
466 one social problem among the Desert People. As a
[733] farmer near Stanfield observed, "There's nothing more useless than a drunk Indian." It is the exceptional cotton farmer who can say of his Papagos they "drink less and are less trouble—the whites drink more." Most farmers would agree with a foreman who said that the Papagos in his camp "all drink, but very few get wild." Some growers control this problem by firing those of the Desert People unable to restrict their tippling to week ends in town. Cotton farmers often bail out good workers rather than lose their services for 10 days to the city. All over the irrigated valleys where Papagos work, bootlegging to Indians is an acute problem.

273 So widespread is drinking among the Desert People
461 in labor camps that it appears to be one big attraction
166 to Papagos to leave their reserves to work. Liquor is much more easily obtained in labor camps and trading towns than on isolated reserves. Friendly or
[439] profiteering Anglos, Negros and Mexican-Americans willing to sell a bottle to a thirsty Indian are relatively abundant around camps and towns. And enforcement of laws prohibiting liquor to Indians is especially diffi-
000 cult outside reserves. One isolated rural store, at

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[1] Program, Papago Reservation, 1944, p. 43.

273 One isolated rural store, at
452 least, sold Papagos wine on credit in 1950—an
439 ultimate easing of the usual difficulty Indians find
in buying intoxicants.

273 Many individual Papagos picking cotton probably
save no cash surplus from their season's labor be-
[434] cause they spend all their extra money for liquor.
[454] They work long enough to get drunk, then lay off until
they are both broke and sober again. This type of
[511] individual gives the whole Papago labor force a very
evil reputation. But neither disapproval or employers
[626] nor social disapprobation within the Papago tribe seem
to be strong enough to curb drinking.

000 Probably repeal of federal law prohibiting liquor
to Indians would remove some of the attraction liquor
[273] holds for the Papagos. It would surely cut down on
the number of staggering drunks—the usual state of
Papago drunks—in allowing the Desert People to sit
down in a bar like other civilized human beings and
drink slowly and socially instead of paying an inflated
bootlegger's price for inferior liquor to be gulped
down immediately in a dark alley before a policeman
confiscates it. Some policemen make a semi-racket of
letting known bootleggers operate, and waiting until
Papagos are thoroughly drunk before arresting them—
a practice resulting in considerable police department
revenue, and some extra cash for the officers, if some
273 observant growers are to be believed. But the Desert
People do not drink merely because they aren't supposed
182 to. The basic reasons lie deeper in their psychology,
154 and are undoubtedly tied into emotional insecurities
bred from economic uncertainty and the stresses arising
from getting along with only half-understood Anglos.

WHITHER Papago Farm Labor?

000 Having looked at the situation of Papago Indians growing and harvesting the 1950 cotton crop in Pima and Pinal counties, Arizona, we want to cast a searching look into their future. What chances will a Papago farm worker have for employment in 1951 and thereafter? What kind of housing will he live in? What kind of treatment will he receive?

All questions a wage worker among the Desert People might ask about his prospects cannot be answered here, surely not with much certainty. But a number of predictions can be made with some surety.

The author attempts to present these predictions as that and nothing more. Toward the end of most reports on current conditions among Indian groups, the authors succumb to the temptation to tell administrators how to do their job. This writer prefers to resist that temptation to write a section of "recommendations." Instead, this section attempts to predict what will happen if administrators act in certain ways, without passing any moral judgements as to what should or should not be done.

1951

EMPLOYMENT

Demand for Papago farm labor will be far greater than supply—Any Papago who wants to work in the cotton fields can get a job at good wages.

WHY

The United States is desperately short of cotton fiber after so many years of surpluses that a shortage was almost unthinkable. The main cause of this amazing shortage is the war in Korea. Munitions manufacture since June of 1950 has cut into the supply of cotton

000 linters and pulp. Clothing an army has cut into cloth supplies; and the projected 3,000,000 man force will need from 1 to 1½ million bales. Much American cotton was sold abroad during 1950 to European nations stimulated by Marshall Plan money and to Japan after restrictions on production and new mill equipment were removed.[1]

All federal quota restrictions on the 1951 cotton crop have been removed by the Secretary of Agriculture, who has asked for production of 16 million bales to meet needs created by war conditions. Cotton farmers expect the season to be a fight. A million small Southern farmers could boost the 10 million bale[2] 1950 crop the necessary 60%.[3] On the other hand Southern farmers who have made a long-overdue shift into diversified or stock farming are not eager to gamble on a one year killing in cotton in competition with high-production Southwestern irrigated farms.[4] So the cotton production battle will probably be won or lost in the Southwest in 1951.

PRODUCTION

Southwestern farmers are seizing their chance to finally kill King Cotton in the South and cry "Long Live the King" to irrigated cotton. California's 659,000 acres in 1950 may be boosted to a million in 1951.[5] The 273,000 acre Arizona 1950 crop will be approximately doubled, with estimates of 1951 plantings running from 500,000[6] to 600,000 acres.[7] The Santa Cruz-Gila river valley farm lands will grow more than their share of this increase. The upstream section of the Santa Cruz in the county of that name will have about 4 times the 1950 planting, over 5,000 acres (more than 80% of the irrigable land).[8] In Pima county planting in 1951 will apparently triple that of 1950, with perhaps 35,000 acres put in cotton about equally divided between the Cortaro Water Users Association area and Marana, Avra valley lands outside its area, and the Sahuarita-Continental region.[9]

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[1] McWilliams, 1951, p. 129.
[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, May 8, 1951.
[3] Rohlf, 1951, p. 24.
[4] McWilliams, 1951, p. 129.
[5] Ibid., p. 129.
[6] Alstad, 1951.
[7] Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb. 14, 1951.
[8] Inskeep, April 20, 1951, p. 1.
[9] Inskeep, April 19, 1951, p. 1.

000 Pinal county, largest 1950 Arizona producer, was so heavily planted to cotton that room for expansion does not exist on the same scale. Under the state water code new land cannot be brought into cultivation in the county. But expansion has continued right up until the area was declared a critical water area by the State Land Commissioner. Fields ordinarily left uncultivated to conserve water are being planted, so the county will probably have 180,000 to 200,000 acres in cotton in 1951.[1]

The two counties studies in 1950 will have about 235,000 acres of cotton to be picked in 1951 compared to somewhat less than 150,000 in 1950, an increase of 50% to 60%. How many harvesters this expanded acreage will require is problematical, since the yield per acre is an unknown quantity. All or nearly all the state's upland cotton acreage in 1951 will be planted to newly developed higher-yielding strains that accounted for a relatively small portion of the 1950 crop. This should bring a further boost in Arizona's nation-leading yield per acre. However, the amount of irrigation water available will ultimately determine 1951 cotton yield.

If adequate water is available at the right time all over cotton growing areas, the 1951 yield will go up considerably. But due to lack of stored surface water (and no heavy replenishing rains can be expected) the crop must be irrigated with pumped water. And there just aren't enough wells to supply every cotton field with the 3½ acre feet of water necessary to raise a maximum crop.[2] And when the big pumps start competing for underground water, some fields will suffer as the larger wells draw down the water level.

Also a certain proportion of 1951 boom growers are inexperienced at cotton farming--both farmers and city slickers looking for a quick killing. Their inexperience will mean lower yield in some of their fields and depress total production.

So the most logical guess on 1951 yield seems to be that it will be as high per acre as in 1950 in Pima and Pinal counties, but that it probably will not rise much higher, if any. On this basis, harvest labor required in 1951 will be from 60% to 70% greater than in 1950 (allowing 10% for possible increased yield).

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[1] Inskeep, March 8, 1951.
[2] Arizona Farmer, Oct. 14, 1950.

000 Tripling cotton acreage in Pima county and adding 50% to Pinal county's production will require many hands to thin cotton plants in the rows and hoe out weeds. As a closeby source of field labor, the Desert People occupy a favorable position in the labor market for this task. More Papago families will be able to move into labor camps in the irrigated valleys earlier in 1951.

Increased cotton planting will also increase to some extent the demand for skilled Papago farm laborers as well. There will be more opportunities for tractor drivers, irrigators and general farm hands.

HARVESTING

Once Arizona's 1951 cotton crop is grown, farmers who are counting on cashing in will face the problem of harvesting their white gold. They consider labor their number one problem after water, and farm organization spokesmen are talking in terms of picking 600,000 to 700,000 bales with as many migrant laborers as they had in 1946 to pick 186,000 bales, and are fighting to import foreign labor.[1]

What will the situation be in Pima and Pinal counties where the Desert People go to work? The first answer is another question: how much cotton will be machine picked? This is an uncertain quantity. Farm experts are looking for 400 machines in the whole state in 1951 which can pick up to 100,000 acres (each machine going over 200-250 acres twice).[2] Since about 340 machines were on hand by the end of the 1950 season[3] it is quite likely more than 400 will be available for the 1951 season. However, production of new machines is uncertain.[4]

Pima County: Less than 10% of the cotton growers used mechanical pickers in 1950. About 10% of the operators not owning machines at the end of the season intended to purchase them.[5] At that time almost a quarter of the non-owners were considering buying picking machines.[6] If farmers convinced of the practicality of picking machines obtain delivery the number of machines used in

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[1] Arizona Farmer, Jan. 6, 1951.
[2] Barr, 1951, p. 7.
[3] Ibid., p. 3.
[4] Rohlf, 1951, p. 24.
[5] Based on replies from 29 non-machine picker owning farmers, of whom 3 intended to buy.
[6] Based on the same 29, of whom 7 contemplated purchase.

000 the county will be about doubled in 1951. (There seems little doubt of this in view of the number of mechanical pickers parked in the yards of the Tucson International Harvester dealers.)

Farmers considering buying mechanical pickers will buy as labor becomes scarce or of poorer quality. If all of them are persuaded, and can obtain machines, the number in Pima county would again be doubled. So the 1951 season should see from 15 to 30 picking machines harvesting cotton. (If production continues so machines are available, and hand labor is very scarce because of Mexico's withdrawal of contract laborers, even more will be purchased).

Fifteen mechanical pickers can harvest at least 3,000 acres of cotton (going over fields twice) up to 3,750 acres. Thirty can harvest 6,000 to 7,500 acres. So 3,000 to 7,500 acres of Pima county cotton will be machine picked in 1951, or 8½% to 21½%.

Besides the acres picked by machine, there will remain in Pima county from 27,500 to 32,000 acres to be harvested by hand in 1951. Assuming a slight rise in yield, the 1951 crop may require 16 man days per acre to pick.[1] On this basis, from 4,400 to 5,100 cotton pickers will be needed every day for 100 days. If this number doesn't start work early in September, correspondingly more pickers will be required later, or more time will be required to harvest the crop, with resultant loss in quality.

Pinal County: About 20% of the 1950 cotton crop was machine picked, with approximately 125 picking machines delivered at the end of the season.[2] In contrast to Pima county with its greater problems with rank foliage and smaller sized farms, perhaps 40% of Pinal county farmers without picking machines at the end of the 1950 season intended to purchase machines for their 1951 harvest.[3] It is problematical whether so many farmers can obtain delivery on machines before picking begins in 1951. During the last six months of 1950 some 50 machines were

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[1] 15.4 in 1950--see Appendix I.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 14, 1950.
[3] Perhaps, because this is based on replies of 12 non-picking machine owning growers, of whom 5 intended to buy machines--obviously a very small sample.

600 delivered to Pinal county cotton growers.[1] If deliveries can be maintained at this same rate, 75 machines would be added to the Pinal county total. There seems little doubt they would be purchased. This would make a total of 200 for the 1951 harvest. If the county obtained 25 of the 60 or so machines expected by agricultural experts[2] there will be 150 working in the 1951 crop.

The 150 machines almost assured can pick from 30,000 to 37,500 acres, and the 200 machines possible could harvest 40,000 to 50,000 acres. If 180,000 acres are planted 130,000 to 150,000 of them must be picked by hand, and if 200,000 acres are planted, as seems most likely, 150,000 to 170,000 acres must be hand harvested. Allowing for a slight increase in yield, the 1951 crop may need 13 man days picking.[3] For 180,000 acres from 16,900 to 19,500 pickers will be needed in the fields every day for 100 days depending on the exact number of mechanical pickers in use. For 200,000 acres from 19,500 to 22,100 pickers will be needed. Again, if this size picking force isn't recruited until October, proportionately more harvest hands will have to be hired later to catch up.

Whatever the precise situation, it is quite obvious that Papago cotton pickers, who are relatively close to the fields and fairly well experienced by now, are going to be in heavy demand in an expanding labor market with a contracting labor supply.

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[1] Arizona Farmer, July 22, 1950, placed 75 in the county. Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 14, 1950, placed 125 there.
[2] Barr, 1951, p. 7.
[3] 12.6 in 1950—see Appendix I.

RECRUITING

More Desert people can be expected to pick cotton in 1950 than ever before.

WHY

000 [464] The planters with their acres upon acres of white gold will be alert to recruit any labor available. Arizona's Indians are the only primary rural labor pool not already fully exploited, so growers may be expected to intensify their recruiting on the reservations, especially on the Papago reservations where growers know they can hire good steady workers, often experienced.

464 466 [516] The Desert People are much like foreign workers who are preferred for stoop labor in the Southwest for reasons outlined very well by Carey McWilliams.[1] They are non-white and willing to stoop at their field work, and they generally return to the same job year after year once they have established a satisfactory relationship with a farmer. They are isolated from the general migratory labor pool, and continue to be isolated by their annual return to their reserves, and their ethnic difference from other pickers.

000 Intensified recruiting will probably result in many older people leaving the reserves for the cotton fields for the first time, or the return to the fields of those who may not have worked there recently for one or another reason. Average size of Papago families living in labor camps will increase in 1951, with more pickings per family unit.

Working conditions in the cotton fields will be about the same in 1951 as they were in 1950. There will be more inexperienced contractors and growers whose crews may suffer occasionally for lack of drinking water and other minor inconveniences, but this will not be very serious.

Informal person-to-person contacts between Papagos and prospective employers will suffice the Desert People for 1951--serve them very well in fact. So far as full employment goes, there will be no need for a formal

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[1] McWilliams, 1950, p. 286-287.

000 placement organization, as suggested recently by Dr. Laura Thompson in her discussion of results of Indian Personality Study results (based on field work carried out 8 years ago).

> "To further meet the needs of the Papago wage workers a cooperative Papago Labor Service might well be established by the Tribal Council with the help of the Indian Service. The purpose of this Service would be to systematize Papago seasonal wage work so far as possible in order to obtain maximum, regular (even though seasonal) employment for reservation Papago, with maximum legal protection, optimum wage rates, insurance and benefits, housing and health conditions, and to provide training, guidance, employment and legal services as needed."[1]

It is difficult to see how a Labor Service could achieve any fuller employment for Papagos than they will find themselves without any assistance in 1951. Under the circumstances of 1951, a Labor Service would merely add an unnecessary expense to a meager tribal budget. The other functions of a Labor Service as detailed by Dr. Thompson can be performed more efficiently and effectively by the Papago Council Chairman or a representative of that body, this writer feels. A representative of the Papago Council can work for legal protection through the counties, for insurance coverage and benefits by prodding the state Industrial Commission and the federal Social Security administration, for better housing and health conditions by prodding and cooperating with the Department of Health, Welfare and Correction. He can do all these things better than could a mere employee of the Papago Council running a Labor Service. A Council representative would be more effective because officials of the county, state, and federal governments are accustomed already to dealing with the Papago Council to a surprising extent. They understand the Council has powers to back up its negotiations. A subordinate of the Council could not be as effective with them because they would tend to treat him as subordinate, pigeonholing him into placement functions.

Purely placement operations can perfectly well be carried out through the existing Arizona State Employment Service. It is an efficient organization with employees

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 80-81.

000 specifically responsible for placing farm workers, and some Papagos already take advantage of its services. If necessary, the ASES might hire, or share with the Papago Council the salary of (as does the Arizona Livestock Sanitary Board in the case of a Livestock Inspector) a Papago to contact the Desert People on the reserves and channel them through the ASES offices in cotton growing areas.

Whether placement and policing were carried out by a Papago Labor Service independently, or through the ASES, this writer is quite sure that formalizing the employment of Papago farm laborers would kick back. Probably somewhat fewer of the Desert People could be placed satisfactorily by a Labor Service than find jobs for themselves.

There are a number of reasons for this prediction.
[181] One is the individualism of the Desert People. They
prefer to make their own choices without interferance
[156] from outside authority--which a labor service would be.
Papagos are trained from babyhood to decide for them-
[858] selves. "Even little children may be consulted in things
which concern them directly, and a child's decision as to
whether he wishes to go to school or to the hospital is
seldom questioned."[1] In this type of society, a formal
labor service would likely be ignored by most people.
However, the Desert People at the same time have a great
admiration for Anglo techniques, and a willingness to
experiment with same--so they might try out a Labor Service. But it would have to prove immediately beneficial
to them to attract repeaters.

46 This it might not do, because of the nature of the preference Anglo farmers express for Papago employees. One Marana cotton grower likes Papago pickers because they are "less quarrelsome" than other harvest hands. Another prefers them because they are "not trying to mess up. They are not crooked," meaning they don't weight their sacks with rocks and clods. A Pinal county grower hires Papagos because they "give no trouble."

That this ability of the Desert People to get along well with their employers is a prime factor in the preference shown for them is indicated by the fact that most of their employers think them slow pickers. Three-fourths

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[1] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 52.

46 of the employers who discussed Papago picking capabilities with the writer believed the Desert People picked slower than other harvest hands. But just as many of them also believed Papagos picked cleaner cotton,[1] which makes them sought after cotton pickers. Clean picking and ability [273] to get along well with employers also outweigh the serious handicap of drunkenness among the Desert People. Employer's experiences with drinking Indians naturally varies. But almost all reported their Indian crews were far below full strength on Monday. A Marana farmer said, [512] "If they'd quit drinking they'd be the best. But 99% of them do drink. They are never any good on Monday, pick up on Tuesday, and are working good on Wednesday." Another remarked that Papagos start to drink Thursday night. These are extreme examples--some cotton farmers luckily hired only families which didn't drink--but a Monday lay-off from picking is general. And growers who have employed Papagos for many years are quite accustomed to bailing their Indians out of jail for $10, or coddling men like J. who "works one week here and one in [578] the city 'hotel'." The faculty of the Desert People for not arguing or causing trouble must count very strongly with cotton farmers for them to put up with other failings of Papago harvest laborers. Whether their pro-Papago attitude would survive creation of a Papago Labor Service is extremely doubtful. For the type of cotton grower common in southern Arizona would tend to interpret a Labor Service as just the kind of trouble he tries to avoid in hiring the Desert People. The social welfare activities of a Labor Service as suggested by Dr. Thompson are exactly the sort of trouble cotton growers would avoid by not hiring the Desert People.

464 466 Whether a Papago Labor Service tried to place workers or the Desert People were placed through the Arizona State Employment Service, cotton growers would look askance. They prefer pickers who deal directly with them over pickers sent out from the ASES for the simple reason they are usually better pickers. Migrants who come directly to the farms are experienced in picking cotton--whether they are Anglos or Indians, Negros or Mexican-Americans. Farmers can depend on them to pitch right in and pick their weight. Pickers sent out from ASES offices are not always so dependable. Field offices in Pinal county help many experienced migrants find places, along with inexperienced beginners. But in Pima county a high

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[1] Based on 13 interviews in Pima, 11 in Pinal county.

464 466 proportion of ASES recruits have not had any experience picking cotton--they are city people out of work and looking for some money. It takes them several days to learn to pick enough to make a living wage. If a grower pays hauling expenses, as he usually does, he loses money until they learn. Turnover is high. So farmers look for pickers who have harvested enough cotton to know their way to the fields.

WAGES

000 *The piece-work rate for picking cotton can be expected to go up in 1951.*

WHY

The leap in cotton acreage in Pima and Pinal counties in 1951 will mean growers must hire about 30% to 70% more hand harvesters than in 1950, even with a sharp increase in the number of machine pickers at work. In a nation on a semi-war basis, this number of field hands cannot be found under the nearest mullen leaf. At the beginning of World War II cotton plungers in southern Arizona could compete with war industries for some of 8,000,000 unemployed. By 1951 picking season the unemployed labor pool in the U. S. will have dropped below a quarter of that figure.[1]

1951 cotton gamblers will have to pay high piece rates to attract enough field hands to harvest their crop unless they can pass a miracle. They are straining at it, pressuring Congress for relaxation of regulations governing the importation of Mexican citizens for field labor.[2] But Congress has shown little speed in acting, so little that Mexico is withdrawing its nationals already in this country. Despite thousands of Mexican workers thronging Hermosillo, capital of neighboring Sonora,[3] only about 700 have entered Arizona (officially), and must be shared between cotton and produce growers.[4] They are not numerous enough yet to hold piece rates down.

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[1] Figures are from Hutchinson, 1951, p. 125.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 28, 1950.
[3] Arizona Daily Star, March 29, 1951.
[4] Tucson Daily Citizen, May 23, 1951.

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It is very likely that the cotton picking season will extend over as long a period in 1951 as in 1950, with some harvesters gleaning into February to gather up the last boll of cotton. The probability of a short labor supply will mean an inadequate picking force must work more days to harvest the crop, and if prices stay as high as at present---and it seems highly unlikely they will drop because of increasing demands---growers will try to salvage every bit of fiber.

This will all mean Papago harvesters in the 1951 season can earn more money than usual by working a longer season.

LIVING CONDITIONS

In 1951 cotton picker housing in Arizona will be a little better quality than before, with some worst labor camp conditions almost eliminated.

WHY

Labor camps in Pinal county were built to house a considerably larger picking force than was needed in 1950. Around 150,000 acres of cotton have been harvested in previous years (the 1950 crop was sharply restricted by federal controls). So housing exists for most of the pickers who must work in 1951, although its quality is very variable, and its location is somewhat spotty.

Farmers breaking desert lands for cultivation in 1951 must build housing for their laborers, and it will tend to be of poorer quality. But a new factor has entered the labor camp situation in both counties---the Arizona State Health Department, motivated by public concern over outbreaks of disease in labor camps during the 1950 cotton picking season. The political power of cotton growers---farm commodity politicians as McWilliams labels them---prevented adoption of regulations as stringent as the Health Department desired, but farmers have recognized that they cannot continue to flout

000 public opinion completely. They will improve their labor camps in 1951 enough to placate the public.

Farmers housing 3 families or 6 adult farm workers will be considered as operating labor camps in 1951, and subject to State Health Department rules for camps adopted in April by the State Board of Health and modified after protests by farmers and a May conference.

The code adopted originally by the State Board of Health was very similar to the one suggested by the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor used as a standard of comparison in this paper.[1] It would have required a safe water supply under pressure, hot and cold running water for bathing and laundering, a shower head for every 15 people. It called for separate kitchens and living quarters, 60 square feet of floor per person, and windows with an eighth of the floor area, with water under pressure available in each housing unit. No tents were to be permitted after July 1, 1953, and fire protection equipment was to be provided. No dirt floors were to be permitted. Fly-tight garbage containers emptied twice a week were required, and disposal of garbage and sewage had to be approved by the State Health Department. Efforts to control dust were called for in labor camps located beside traveled roads, and a supervisor was called for in each labor camp to make daily inspections.[2]

Enforcement of this code would have meant southern Arizona labor camps in 1951 would have met a reasonable standard agreed upon by health authorities. But opposition from farm organizations such as the Arizona Farm Bureau Federation, the Arizona Co-operative Cotton Growers Association, Agricultural Commodities, Inc., and the Vegetable Growers Association resulted in a watered-down code, despite publicly expressed opinion of a Health Department official that dairymen who took care of their cows like some labor camps residents would be closed up.[3] Although Health Department spokesmen scoffed about a small minority of cotton and carrot barons getting rich off serfs and human chattels under their iron heels,[4] political power of the farmers forced them to compromise.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 39-44.
[2] Arizona Daily Star, April 27, 1951.
[3] Tucson Daily Citizen, April 25, 1951.
[4] Arizona Daily Star, May 3, 1951.

000 The adulterated code is silent on the relationship of labor camps to unsurfaced roads, stables, or poultry runs. The water supply must be approved by the State Health Director or a local health department, with each family having access to 35 gallons a day which need not be delivered to the house, only within 50 feet of it. Only 1 shower head per 20 persons must be provided. Kitchens need not be separated from living rooms. Growers didn't succeed in seriously watering down provisions for labor camp registration with health authorities, supervision and inspection, fire protection and garbage disposal.[1]

Even this emasculated labor camp code scheduled to go into force before next picking season will eliminate many of the worst features found through the 1950 season. Many cotton growers realise the need for cleaning up their camps, and have joined in planning the new code, dragging their feet when cleaning up appeared to threaten their wallets too much. But some growers have joined with disgruntled urban groups to attempt to refer to a vote of the electorate for approval legislation passed by the 1951 legislature reorganizing several state departments, including a new Health, Welfare, and Correction department which would enforce the labor camp code. They have succeeded in referring the bills, which prevents them from taking effect as law until approved at the polls. So the recalcitrants apparently can put off action to improve their labor camps until after the boom-season of 1951, and slow down improvements by conscientious farmers who are willing to move, but move faster under official prodding.

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362 Papago Indians will benefit from improvement in camp conditions to the extent growers for whom they already work improve their labor camps. But over-all improvement will not aid the Desert People all it might. As pointed out earlier in this report, they choose their working spot not on the basis of the quality of the housing available in a farmer's labor camp, but on the basis of their personal relationship to that farmer. If he is a good man to work for, the Desert People return to his farm year after year, whether his labor housing is of the best or not--and frequently it is not. However, Papagos won't necessarily work for a farmer they like regardless of the type housing he provides. One

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, May 14, 1951.

464 466 362 farmer who provided tents for his pickers told the writer, for example, that while he felt he could recruit an Indian crew because he had worked on one of the reserves and knew most of the people, they like better housing and wouldn't stay.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

000 *Papago migrant workers living in labor camps in 1951 will not be exposed to as great a threat to their health as before.*

WHY

The head of the State of Arizona's postponed new Department of Health, Welfare and Correction, Dr. Clarence G. Salsbury, has been retained in his post as director of preventive medicine in the existing health department. He will undoubtedly do what he can in the regulation of labor camp health conditions. While Dr. Salsbury has retired from Ganado Mission Hospital (Navaho Reservation) he shows few signs of loss of energy. The interest and intervention of the State Department of Health to some extent during and definitely after the 1950 picking season was a new and wholesome factor in the labor camp health situation. This policy cannot help but lead to better conditions.

It is easily predictable that the State will not have sufficient inspection or preventive medical officers in the field to effectively control the situation. It simply was not appropriated enough money by the state legislature to handle the number of people that will be needed to pick the boom-year cotton crop. Nor is a special session of the legislature likely to provide more enforcement funds after the rebuff given the lawmakers in referring their reorganization bills. Obviously Papagos would be better protected if half their meager federal medical staff could be assigned to duty in

000 labor camps during the months when about half the tribe lives off their reserves where Indian Bureau physicians work.

If the Indian Bureau could transfer funds from other accounts to fight a real medical battle against disease in labor camps, cooperating with the state, much could be done not only to throttle disease among the Desert People, but also to change the anti-Indian Bureau and anti-federal government attitude of Anglos in the state of Arizona. A clear opportunity exists for the Indian Bureau to make friends in Arizona for itself and any other federal agencies with medical personnel and responsibility for migrant labor or public health which might be induced to join in a federal-state cooperative program of preventive medicine in southern Arizona's labor camps in 1951.

If a bold scheme of federal aid to Arizona's health officers cannot be devised, the federal government will obviously have lost a golden opportunity to win friends in a fairly antagonistic population. And, even more serious, people will die, and many more will be gravely ill who need not die and who need not be ill. Some of them will be Papago Indians.

It is not for this writer to suggest how a frontal attack on labor camp health problems should be made, whether through state or federal action, or private initiative of cotton growers or townspeople in cotton growing areas. But this writer can predict that human lives can be saved and wastage of precious human resources prevented in proportion to the number of different agencies joining in an attack, the scale of their efforts, and the degree to which they cooperate.

The Positive View

EMPLOYMENT

Papago farm laborers must eventually learn skilled jobs to find work, despite their relatively favorable position in the farm labor market in southern Arizona.

WHY

The Desert People cannot expect the seller's market in farm labor prevailing in 1951 to continue indefinitely, although it may last as long as the U. S. remains on a war footing. The machine age is coming to southern Arizona cotton fields with a rush. Long lines of mechanical cotton pickers in dealers' yards foreshadow the end of large-scale hand picking.

Eventually mechanization of other processes involved in growing cotton will virtually eliminate the need for hand choppers, so the Desert People working in growing cotton and its harvest as unskilled laborers must either learn new skills or become jobless.

HARVESTERS

The least skilled Papago cotton workers, the pickers, will be most affected by mechanization. There is no doubt that almost complete mechanization of the irrigated cotton harvest is only a question of time.

In 1948 there were 20 machines picking cotton in Arizona. In 1949 their number had swelled six-fold.[1] By the end of the 1950 season the number of mechanical pickers in operation had almost tripled again, to approximately 340 machines.[2] And in 1951 there will

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[1] Holekamp and Thomas, August 19, 1950.

[2] Barr, 1951, p. 3.

000 probably be over 400 machines in Arizona.[1] Beyond the 1951 picking season, the number of picking machines cotton growers will be able to buy will be problematical depending on conditions of world peace or lack of it, and priority assigned production of mechanical picking machines in a tightening labor market. A man-power analyst has raised a question whether 100 skilled workers making 100 mechanical cotton pickers which might replace 3,000 workers who might be enticed into defense work should be diverted to war production.[2] In the South picking bale to an acre cotton, a machine can replace 40 hands.[3] In southern Arizona's irrigated high yield cotton fields a machine replaced about 32 average pickers over a full season in 2-bale-per-acre cotton. But the uncertainty remains as to how many picking machines can and will be manufactured in the immediate future.

In 5 years the number of mechanical cotton pickers and strippers in this country leaped from 1,700 to 13,400.[4] In California about 1½% of the cotton crop was harvested by machine in 1947, while 3 years later about a quarter of the crop was machine harvested.[5] The 865 machines used on the 1949 crop increased to 1,435 in 1950, and the whole crop may be picked mechanically within 3 to 5 years. The reason for this swing to mechanization is soundly economic; mechanical picking saves growers anywhere from $13.50 up to $22 on each bale.[6] The loss of grade growers took earlier on machine picked cotton has been mostly eliminated by new equipment in cotton gins.[7]

There can be no doubt Arizona farmers will follow a regional and national trend toward mechanical cotton harvesting. Although they lag somewhat behind California's cotton growers at present, it is only a matter of time until they almost completely mechanize their cotton harvest.

Perhaps Arizona's cotton can never be picked entirely by machines. Until frost, machines have a difficult time in heavy cotton foliage. In moister regions this problem is solved by spraying fields with calcium cyanamide which makes leaves fall off plants, leaving

[Text Continues on P. 118]

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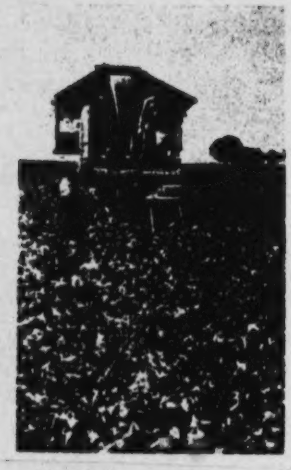
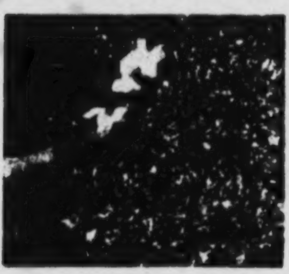
[1] Barr, 1951, p. 7.
[2] Hutchinson, 1951, p. 124.
[3] Raper, 1946, p. 16.
[4] Anon., 1950, p. 2.
[5] McWilliams, 1950, p. 287.
[6] McWilliams, 1951, p. 130.
[7] Raper, 1946, p. 16.

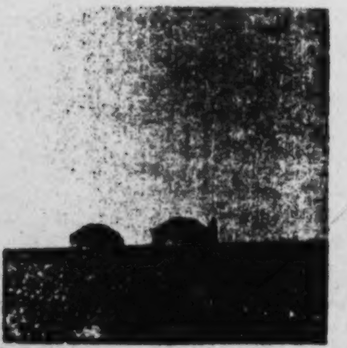


The future is already here...

picking cotton by the ton...



instead of the ounce...



already working in squads...

and soon no more hands will be needed.

000 the picking machine a clear field.[1] In Arizona this treatment has not proved very practicable because of the very dry atmosphere--spray doesn't adhere to leaves well enough to defoliate plants successfully. Although progress is being made,[2] it may never be feasible to harvest all southern Arizona's crop mechanically. And there will always be some small farmers who cannot afford to invest in a mechanical harvester who will hire hand pickers. For some time there will be conservative growers who cling to their belief hand picked cotton grades better than machine-picked, and that Indian-picked fiber grades best of all.

As mechanization becomes more nearly complete in southern Arizona, growers probably will become more cautious in buying picking machines so as not to over-invest in equipment. For these various reasons, it can be predicted that there will be a permanent though much reduced place for hands in cotton harvesting. This place likely will be filled by pickers of 2 sorts. One group will be permanent farm laborers living on cotton farms. 46 Experienced Papagos already occupy a preferred position in this group of farm laborers. The other group most likely will be mobile cotton pickers hauled to the field from towns daily, a much more efficient operation than building labor camps on farms. While there will probably develop intense competition for these jobs, at least for a while, cotton growers may be expected to show a preference for Indian pickers. For in a highly competitive labor market, they will tend to hire pickers who harvest the cleanest, highest-grading cotton: Indians. Among cotton growers who have hired Papago harvesters, there is almost unanimity on the clean fiber Indians dump into trailers. "The Indian is slower, but picks cleaner--his cotton is beautiful!" "They are very, very good, and do a nice job." "They pick a lot cleaner." "I'll bet the trash in that trailer I sent in today won't run one half of one per cent, and it grades better." These are typical comments on the picking job the Desert People perform.

In a dusty field in the Stanfield area, a weighman told the writer, "What they lack picking as much weight, they make up by cleaning the row; and they put clean cotton in the trailer." This characteristic patience in the cotton fields is a strong point in favor of the

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[1] Raper, 1946, p. 15.
[2] Arizona Farmer, Sept. 16 and Nov. 25, 1950.

46 Desert People with growers. "Indians pick a field clean; they don't leave cotton." "Papagos don't grumble when they come to bad cotton." In 1950 cotton growers wanted every ounce of fiber they'd grown harvested to cash in on skyrocketing prices, so were glad to hire pickers willing to clean up poor stands. Understandably in the future this same quality of picking clean cotton and cleaning rows will endear the Desert People to growers. They will want the highest grading fiber they can get during first picking when green leaves are still on the plants and machines are inefficient.

Cotton planters who know the capabilities of the Desert People will generally continue to hire them to do what picking remains for hands after optimum mechanization is reached. At least two-thirds of the cotton growers who employed Papago harvest hands in 1950 would prefer all-Indian picking crews over crews of any other ethnic group.[1] The length of time they had hired Papagos testifies as to their reliance on the Desert People as farm labor. In Pima county a couple of growers hired Papagos for the first time in 1950, one had employed them 15 years. The average time Papago employers had hired them was 6½ years.[2] In Pinal county one small farmer had hired Papagos for 20 years, others were using them for the first time in 1950. The average time farmers hiring Papago harvesters had employed them was 5 years.[3]

080 While these figures reflect to a large extent merely the length of time farmers have been raising crops, they do show cotton growers continue to hire Indians once they have begun. There is no reason to suppose they will suddenly cease to do so as mechanization progresses. But they will have less and less need for Papago farm laborers—especially pickers—as mechanization increases. Mechanical cotton pickers and other machines will crowd unskilled Papago farm workers right out of the fields.

It is this threat to farm employment of the Desert People outside their reserves posed by mechanization that points to the most profitable function for the Papago Labor Service suggested by Dr. Laura Thompson.

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[1] Based on 12 interviews in Pima county and 4 in Pinal. 11 of the 16 expressed a preference for Papagos.

[2] 11 farmers had hired Papagos 71 years, averaging 6.45.

[3] 11 farmers had hired Papagos 55 years.

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> "It is recommended, therefore, that a cooperative Papago Labor Service be established by the Tribal Council with the help of the Indian Service to systematize Papago seasonal wage work, to protect the Papago wage worker, to obtain for him the best possible working conditions and to train and guide him in his work according to need."[1]

Such a Papago Labor Service could function most effectively for the economic welfare of Papago farm workers by training them to perform skilled tasks on the highly mechanized soil-robbing operations of Southern Arizona. Tractor drivers are usually in demand in the irrigated valleys. Skilled cotton picking machine operators will be more and more in short supply as the number of machines in use rises. A Papago Labor Service could probably contract with farm equipment distributors or farmers to train Papagos selected on an aptitude basis for such jobs.

Southern Arizona farmers look to the Arizona State Employment Service for such skilled farm workers. Although they distrust ASES-recruited pickers who are likely to be unskilled urbanites, they have found skilled laborers placed by the ASES are really skilled. Adequately trained Papago machine operators could be placed through the ASES in the course of its normal operations, without effort by a Papago Labor Service beyond training.

There is a place ready-made for skilled Papagos on farms where Indians have been employed previously. A typical reaction of a farmer experienced with Indian labor is, "If they live on the farm they consider it their home for a period. If you have other farm work to do, they'll pitch in."

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A Papago Labor Service could concentrate on training unskilled Indians to do skilled work, and to speak better English in order to equip Papagos to compete more efficiently for farm jobs. If the tribe set out to conduct an energetic campaign to teach English, it could improve many employer-employee relationships which suffer from the Indian worker's lack of comprehension in a difficult language. Such a program would be most

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 81.

660 effective for adults if they learned individually, since one strong reason for lack of faster progress in learning English is a fear of being laughed at for making mistakes.

The Papago Council can assist the reduced number of unskilled Desert People who will be able to harvest cotton before frost kills leaves enough for picking machines to work efficiently. The Council might authorize the Papago Loan Board to grant loans to capable, responsible young Indians to purchase buses to haul Papagos to the fields from a town base, like the young man at San Xavier already mentioned. Indian contractors would necessarily have to weed out their crews to include the swiftest pickers who harvest clean, high-grading cotton preferred by growers. They would need to know the cotton growing areas intimately so they could move their crews where jobs were available. The Loan Board might well exercise some regulation over the housing these Indian contractors financed by the Tribe furnished their crews.

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466 The fact the Desert People live relatively near the Pima and Pinal county cotton fields will continue to operate to their advantage in a highly competitive labor market. Cotton farmers don't have to send to Texas or Oklahoma to hire them, and their transportation costs are only a fraction of those of most migrant workers. Their strong beliefs in St. Francis leading to prolonged absences from the fields, during the pre-frost hand picking seas; their lack of knowledge of English, and the stereotypes about Papago drinking habits some Papagos have caused most Anglos to hold will mitigate against the entire small hand picking force of the future being composed of the Desert People. But at this time, the Indians appear to occupy the most favorable position to obtain the small proportion of harvesting jobs which will remain in the cotton fields when the harvest reaches peak mechanization.

Papagos and Yaquis will also be preferred by many cotton growers for the picking jobs remaining after full mechanization because they are isolated from the general labor market. They can be imported and exported as needed, much like foreign contract laborers. And the [177] cultural conditioning of Indians gives them quite different characteristics as laborers from Mexicans or

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[1] Suggestions for school and adult education programs are made and discussed in Dobyns, et al, 1949, p. 65 cf.

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466 Negros who have absorbed more Anglo-American culture
177 and are therefore less subservient.

SKILLED FARM WORKERS

464 The more skilled Papago farm laborers will be least affected by mechanization in the cotton fields. There is no foreseeable way of mechanizing the process of irrigation in the immediate future (although it could be done!), so demand for Papago irrigators will continue. And they are good irrigators when experienced. As one cotton growers remarked only half-jokingly, "The Papagos are the only people I know who can make water run uphill!"

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156 Another quality in the Desert People that makes them attractive to Anglo farmers is their psuedo-subservience. Employers say an Indian will never argue with you; he'll do a task your way, but if he doesn't like it he just leaves. Anglo farmers seem to prefer this kind of action to arguments and recriminations from workers of their own group, or Negros or Mexican-Americans. It arises from the deepest wells of Papago personality. [183] "In addition to belief in magical and supernatural forces, the main behavior requirements for smooth functioning of the Old Papago society were work, co-operation, [867] and avoidance of aggression."[1] These ideas drilled into the Papago child from infancy make the Papago adult a nearly ideal employee from the Anglo point of view.

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[273] Advantages of behavior the Desert People have in finding farm jobs in southern Arizona are somewhat offset by their relatively poor understanding and command of the English language, and the high incidence of drunkenness among the men. However, the most serious disadvantage the Desert People will labor under when cotton cultivation and harvesting reaches full mechanization will be lack of skills.

464 Of course, irrigators and general farm handy men who clean ditches, feed cattle or poultry, mend fences, and perform simple tasks on hay balers and other machines will still be hired. But their pay will be relatively low compared to tractor operators, especially machine picker drivers, and other skilled men. Papago farm workers have little opportunity to learn these skills, and mechanization may sweep the cotton fields leaving them all performing lowlier tasks.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 211.

Even so, the number of Desert People making a living on irrigated farms outside their reserves will be considerable. There is every reason to believe more Papagos will be added to the approximately 200 working the year round on farms by 1950. Their ability to support themselves by farm labor is of the greatest importance in freeing over-exploited resources of the reserves for others.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Mechanization of the processes of cotton growing and harvesting will result in greatly improved living conditions for relatively fewer, more skilled farm laborers in Arizona.

WHY

When the southern Arizona cotton crop is harvested by machines after frost; and hand picking is limited to the period before frost, the need for labor camps on cotton farms will be virtually eliminated. Numbers of pickers to be housed will be much smaller than at present. And if the trend toward hauling pickers from town to the fields every day continues as expectable, housing will be needed on cotton farms only for year-round employees, who may also pick some cotton.

This will mean cotton growers can invest more money per unit in their labor housing for skilled workers. Such a trend has already set in, both in Pima and Pinal counties, where farmers are already building compact 3 and 4 room concrete block homes for their foremen and tractor drivers, etc. These homes are pleasantly located and the farmers or their employees are setting out trees and gardens and lawns around them. They have indoor plumbing and running well water, good hard floors, adequate window space, and are relatively fire-proof.

There is little room to doubt that as mechanization of the cotton harvest advances, quality of labor housing on cotton farms in Pima and Pinal counties will im-

000 prove. In 5 to 10 years, skilled farm laborers will be living in very comfortable quarters indeed.

369 484 Inevitably, in any rural farm area, certain problems remain even when farm housing is adequate or above standard. Farms are relatively isolated from towns with their opportunities for organized recreation, and their churches and doctors and hospitals. This isolation is little problem for the comparatively well to do cotton [493] grower with his pickups and Buicks. But for the automobile-less majority of the Desert People working on farms all the time, such isolation is serious. They are cut off from other Papagos, from efficient shopping, medical care, recreation, and religious rites. Probably car ownership will increase among this group of Papagos, but their wage scale will not be high enough to enable them to solve their difficulties quickly.

000 Dr. Laura Thompson, who quarterbacked the Indian Personality Studies of the early 1940's (which studied the Papago among other tribes), has called for administrative action designed to meet needs both of stay-at-home Desert People and farm labor migrants.

> "It is recommended, therefore, that if improvement of the welfare of the Papago be the aim, the focus of administrative and tribal planning may well be to foster the new, constructive dual life pattern with its reservation base in cooperative family life with traditionally agricultural roots and herding economy counterbalancing the recently developed migratory labor cycle. This would involve a two-sided program pointed toward improving and developing the reservation base and conditions on one hand, and toward meeting the specific problems of Papago migratory workers on the other."[1]

364 751 944 One of the very specific problems of migratory workers among the Desert People--as well as the non-migrants--is health. There is no doubt that Papagos are exposed to deplorable health menaces in labor camps. But at the same time there is no doubt that they do not know 000 how to protect themselves adequately. This lack of

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 72.

757 177 This lack of knowledge[2] is their heritage from the past, when American Indians developed their own methods of medical treatment quite independently of Europeans. It is their heritage from the past when Europeans expected--and still expect--Indians to accept European treatments which are very different from their own without being offered sufficient explanation. [192] The Desert People simply do not know many of our European medical concepts--there are not words in the Papago language for many of our common medical terms. So the Desert People can't even think about them, much less understand them.

000 This briefly states the basic situation which makes it quite certain that real improvement in Papago health not only among farm workers but throughout the whole tribal population awaits an intensive and effective health education program. Techniques for such education are known. The health of the Desert People will improve as those techniques are used.

Health education of school children could of course ultimately solve the difficulty. But ultimately may be a very long time, considering the proportion of Papago children attending school, their attendance records, and the number of years they don't go to school.

An intelligently managed program of sub-professional medical training could pay off in lives and better general health much sooner--soon enough to help the Desert People living in labor camps. It would require nothing more than brief training of medicine men in basic hygenic concepts and practices to effect great improvement.[1]

If medicine men could be taught recognition and treatment of a few basic ills by Indian Bureau doctors, chances are good the better feeling engendered could be used to persuade them to refer to white doctors cases they recognize as beyond their capabilities. The net effect could hardly escape being good, for any measure which gives the Desert People more knowledge of our concepts of disease and its treatment is a step toward better health for them. As long as their primary health problem is lack of knowledge, native medical practitioners are the natural and most efficient avenue for sending them additional knowledge and safety.

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[1] Arguments for such a program and estimates of its effect are presented in Dobyns, et al. 1949, p. 44-48.

[2] [i.e. as how to protect their health--Analyst]

INCENTIVES

000 *All incentives impelling papagos to work for wages in 1950 will continue into the foreseeable future.*

WHY

There is no appreciable improvement in reservation resources on the Papago horizon. Congress shows no signs of passing the Papago Rehabilitation Bill while spending heavily for cold and hot wars.

Even were the Papago Development Program translated into reality, a large residue of Papagos will remain unsupported by their tribal lands. They must seek labor outside their reserves.

> "Upon completion of the range improvements, further irrigation developments, and improvement of the flash flood farming areas, it is estimated that the reservation resources will support at a reasonable level of living, not to exceed 800 families. This leaves about 400 families, together with the increase in population, who must be permanently located off the reservation."[1]

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About 150 Papago families are pointing the way for those who must relocate, working in the Ajo mine and in other Arizona cities.[2] Many families are already living permanently on farms where they work. This study indicates perhaps 200 Papagos already work on farms the year round. They represent approximately 200 families of approximately 800 persons, far more than this writer, at least, expected beforehand. More Desert People can find permanent farm employment if they can learn skilled farm labor. Their situation is far from hopeless.

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[1] Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 10.
[2] Ibid., p. 10.

Appendix 1: Machines and Men

128 To complete this report, it was necessary to know how many cotton pickers were employed in Pima and Pinal counties in 1950. Since it was impossible to count every picker while making this survey-study, this total had to be estimated, and several computations entered into the final result. They are felt to be of sufficient interest to be presented in this Appendix.

000 **Machines:** In July of 1950 Blaine Madden, itinerant assistant county agent studying mechanical cotton harvesting predicted that 20% of the Pinal county cotton crop would be harvested by machinery. He based his estimate on the 75 picking machines then in the county plus 15 on order, working in second and third pickings.[1] Mr. Madden is apparently a very wise man, for 20% of the crop seems to be just about the amount machine-picked in Pinal county.

Toward the height of machine-picking, from 100 to 125 machines were operating in the county.[2] Probably 100 of them put in a full season's work, which amounted to about 400 bales per machine under perfect weather conditions with full efficiency.[3] Those 100 picking machines harvested approximately 40,000 bales of cotton, then, which is some 20% of the county total. (By the end of 1950, 193,433 bales of cotton had been ginned in Pinal county.[4] By that time the harvest was 95% complete.[5] The completed harvest reached the neighborhood of 203,614 bales. 40,000 machine-picked bales are 19.6% of this total)

In Pima county 26,657 bales of cotton were ginned.[6] On 35 farms studied in the county, comprising 70% of the total cotton acreage, 5 picking machines were found in operation. There were probably 7 machines in the county, therefore, which could have harvested about 2,800 bales. This is 10½% of the total bales ginned;

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[1] Arizona Farmer, July 22, 1950.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 14, 1950.
[3] Arizona Farmer, Jan. 6, 1951.
[4] Casa Grande Dispatch, Jan. 4, 1951.
[5] Salter, 1951a, p. 1.
[6] Arizona Daily Star, Mar. 27, 1951.

000 so that machine harvesting was only half as prevalent in Pima as in Pinal County in 1950.

Men: Just before cotton picking began the leading Arizona farm paper estimated that 25,000 hand pickers would harvest the state cotton crop not picked by machines in some 96 days.[1] This estimate seems to have been only slightly too low.

PICKERS NEEDED

Yield--Pima county set what is probably a national county record yield in 1950, ginning 1,053 pounds of lint per acre.[2] As it takes 1,400 pounds of seed cotton to make a 479-pound bale of fiber,[3] the fiber weighs 35.2% of the seed cotton brought in from the field. So 1,053 pounds of lint per acre means 3,079 pounds of seed cotton per acre production in Pima county.

Picking Speed--Labor cost studies of cotton picking showed the average amount of cotton picked per man day in Pinal county was 188 pounds in 1947, and 235 pounds in Graham county in 1949.[4] Papago men interviewed in this study averaged 211 pounds per man per day, and women 150 pounds a day. If we assume that 200 pounds of cotton per picker per day is about average, we will agree with the farm paper mentioned.[5] Dividing 200 pounds per man per day into the 3,079 pound per acre yield of Pima county shows the labor requirement in 1950 was 15,395 man days per acre.

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Picking Time--The 11,200 acres of upland cotton[6] in the county required 172,480 man days of harvesting at 15.4 man-days per acre. Farms in Pima county whose upland acreage was obtained in this study planted 6,692½ acres, or 59.8% of the county total. They also planted 1,434 A. of American-Egyptian cotton, 21.4% of the upland acreage. If this proportion holds for the county, as seems likely, then approximately 2,400 acres of American-Egyptian cotton was planted in 1950. While the labor requirement for picking a pound of long staple cotton is about twice that for short,[7] yield per acre drops to about half that of

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[1] Arizona Farmer, Aug. 5, 1950.
[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb. 6, 1951.
[3] Barr, 1949, p. 6, Table 3.
[4] Ballantyne, 1950.
[5] Arizona Farmer, Aug. 5, 1950, states 7 man-days (misprinted hours) are standard per bale--1400 pounds.
[6] Barr, 1951, p. 17, Table 6.
[7] Figures for Papago pickers obtained in this study. Also, Arizona Farmer, Aug. 5, 1950.

000 upland cotton, so the labor requirement for picking each acre is approximately equal to that for an acre of short staple cotton. So we may figure the estimated 2,400 acres of American-Egyptian cotton in Pima county required another 36,960 man days to pick at the same rate of 15.4 man days per acre.

Pickers--These figures add up to a total of 209,440 man days to harvest the 1950 Pima county cotton crop. However, 10% of the crop was picked with machines, so this amount must be subtracted. The estimated 7 machines did about 20,940 man days labor--some 2,990 man-days per machine--leaving 188,500 man days of hand picking. If this picking was done in a 96 day period[1] there had to be 1,964 pickers in the fields every day to harvest 23,991 bales by hand.

Pinal county--Yield per acre was probably near the state average of 890 pounds of lint.[2] This means 2,528 pounds of seed cotton per acre, which at 200 pounds picked per man per day makes a labor requirement of 12.64 man days per acre for the county. For 112,000 acres planted to upland[3] 1,415,680 man days of picking were necessary. In this study, information was obtained on farms planted to 6,478½ acres of upland cotton, 5.8% of the county total. Those farms had also 1,282 acres planted in American-Egyptian cotton, or 19.8% of their upland acreage. If this proportion held true over the county, and the sample is quite random geographically although small, then about 22,154 acres of long staple varieties were planted. At 12.64 man days per acre, this amount of long staple cotton required 280,027 man days picking.

The two figures added show a total labor requirement of 1,695,707 man days for harvesting the 1950 Pinal county cotton crop. The hundred or so picking machines' 20% bite of this time amounted to 339,141 man days--about 3,390 man days per machine--leaving 1,356,566 man days picking for the hands. Over a 96-day season, picking the some 162,890 bales hand harvested required 14,130 pickers in the fields every one of the 96 days.

Total Pickers--Both counties required 16,095 pickers in the fields every day for a 96-day picking season. These two counties included in their boundaries 54% (if the author's estimates are correct) of the 273,000 acres of cotton planted in Arizona in 1950.[1] Assuming that the rest of the cotton grown in the state needed approximately the same amount of picking, then about 29,800 pickers were needed each day for a 96-day season.

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[1] The 96-day season is used by Arizona Farmer in its calculations. Aug. 5, 1950.

[2] Barr, 1951; p. 5.

[3] Barr, 1951, p. 17, Table 6.

As a matter of fact, this figure was not reached in 1950 until the first week in October, so that more pickers were needed later on to make up (and the season was extended considerably past 96 days when farmers attempted to salvage every bit of cotton as prices soared).

The number of man-days per acre used in these computations is considerably higher than that used by a University of Arizona rural sociologist in estimating the number of pickers needed for the 1950 season. He took a 7.16 man day per acre figure based on labor cost studies in Pinal county in 1947, and 7.87 man days for Graham county in 1949.[2] There is nothing wrong with these figures for the years in which the studies were made. But they cannot be used to estimate accurately the number of pickers required in later years for the simple reason that cotton yield per acre is rising tremendously each season. As yield rises, more hands are required to harvest the fiber. In 1947 the yield per acre was about 520 pounds over the state.[3] In 1949 the state average was 650 pounds.[4] Both these figures are well under the 890 pound state average yield of 1950, and required fewer pickers per acre. As improved cotton varieties are planted and cultivation practices improve, boosting cotton yield, labor requirements rise.

PICKERS HIRED

Estimating that 16,095 harvest hands were needed in Pima and Pinal counties to pick the 1950 cotton crop in 96 days does not reveal how many pickers actually worked and for how long. The chart on the size of the picking force shows that pickers necessary to harvest the crop in 96 days did not begin working until the second week in October. This meant more pickers were needed to finish the harvest in the same period of time, and the chart shows the picking force continued to increase until mid-

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[1] Barr, 1951; p. 17, Table 6.
[2] Ballantyne, 1950.
[3] Barr, 1951, p. 6. Figure for "late forties."
[4] Ibid., p. 6.

000 November, and then dropped slowly until the end of the season. By Christmas the number of pickers working had dropped back to the approximately 16,100 necessary to do a 96-day job.

The chart of the progress of the cotton harvest shows only 20% of the crop was harvested in Pinal county during the first 6 weeks (33 working days). Then 55% was harvested in the following 6 weeks when the picking force reached its peak strength. As the number of pickers fell, the speed of harvesting dropped off so another 20% of the crop was gathered in 4 weeks, and the final 5% was brought in over another 8 weeks or so when farmers made unusual efforts to salvage every pound of cotton because prices spurted.

The chart showing the Pinal-Pima county cotton picking force is based on an assumption of equal distribution of cotton pickers over the growing areas of the state, which may not be so. However, figures obtained in this study suggest this assumption is valid. The average picking force in Pima and Pinal counties for the 11 weeks for which Arizona State Employment Service data are available was 19,251 pickers.[1] The number of pickers working at the peak of the season in Pima and Pinal counties was about 22,140 if the harvesters were evenly distributed over the state.

Check—In this study information was obtained on the maximum picking crew that had worked on each farm up to the time it was visited, so the data represent an average for the season. (Farms were visited during the weeks covered in the chart of the picking force. There is some tendency for Pinal county data to indicate peak crews, as farms there were visited generally during or after the peak weeks of picking.) In Pima county 2,225 cotton pickers were counted working on 9,526½ acres, 70% of the estimated county total. This indicated a total picking force of 3,176 for Pima county, minus 10% to correct for cotton harvested by machines, or 2,858.

In Pinal county 3,096 harvest hands were counted working on 19,647½ acres of cotton, which is 14.65% of the estimated total in the county. An estimate of 21,133 pickers for the whole county is too high by 20% of the

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[1] Arizona Cotton Bulletin, 1950a, 1950b, 1950c, 1950d, 1950e, 1950f, 1950g.
Arizona Farm Labor Bulletin, 1950a, 1950b, 1950c, 1950d.

000 total machine-picked. Subtracting the some 4,227 pickers displaced by machines, the total number of hands was 16,906.

The total indicated for both counties by data obtained in this study is then 19,764 pickers on an average. This is only a few hundred off the 19,251 average of Arizona Employment Service figures.

Appendix 2: Ethnic Groups Picking

One of the main questions this study should have answered is: How many Papago Indians picked cotton in 1950? That question was not answered. Information was collected in an attempt to define this elusive figure, A good deal of interesting data was obtained on ethnic composition of samples of the picking force, but the main question must be answered with an estimate.

All estimates of relative numerical contribution of each ethnic group to the picking force are advanced with a great deal of trepidation, as they are felt to be based on perhaps the least reliable sampling of this whole study. They should be read as no more than somewhat intelligent guesses.

Information on ethnic composition of picking crews was obtained from 49 farms in both counties, less than half the farms visited. (Mostly employers and foremen just didn't know their employees well enough to help, and counting and identifying in the field was virtually impossible.) These farms, 47.6% of those studied, hired only 35.9% of the pickers hired by all the farms studied, showing they employed considerably fewer hands than farms from which ethnic data could not be obtained. So the sampling is to that extent untrustworthy.

For Pima county, farms from which ethnic data was secured averaged 115 acres smaller than the average of all farms studied. However, all farms studied were not representative of the county, as slightly less than half the cotton farms in the county were included, but they contained about 70% of the total cotton acreage in the county.

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In Pinal county the average size of farms from which ethnic data was secured is only 8 acres larger than the average for all farms studied, suggesting they are reasonably representative. However, it appears embarrassingly probable that due to the smallness of the sample and the author's proclivity for finding Indian laborers, the sample was not random, and was weighted with too many Indians to be accurate.

ETHNIC DATA SAMPLE

County	Farms	Acres	Average A. per farm	Percent of county	Pickers	Average per farm	Average A. per picker	Percent pickers are of county average
Pima	22	3,461½	157.3	25.45%	678	30.9	5.1	23.68%
Pinal	27	10,403½	385.3	7.75	1,229	45.5	8.5	7.26%

With these warnings in mind, the reader may procede to the discussion of ethnic characteristics of the 1950 cotton picking force.

PIMA COUNTY

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Mexican-Americans and braceros (citizens of Mexico working in the U. S.) could roll up a substantial plurality if a vote were taken on, say, relative popularity of foremen. About two-fifths of the Pima county picking force in 1950 spoke Spanish.[1] Another quarter of the hands in the county belonged to that group of people labeled by custom in this country as Negroes.[2] Another fifth of the Pima county laborers were Indians. The Papagos were the most numerous by far--1 picker out of each 5 to 6 in the county was Papago.[3] Reflecting the concentration of Yaquis at Pascua Village and Barrio Libre on the outskirts of Tucson, and at the old company labor camp at Marana, Indians other than Papagos made up about a fiftieth of the pickers in the county.[4]

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[1] Based on 678 hands of known ethnic origin of whom 290 or 42.8% were Spanish-speakers.
[2] Based on 678 hands, of whom 189 or 27.9% were Negroes.
[3] Based on 678 hands, of whom 121 or 18.9% were Papagos.
[4] Based on 678 hands, of whom 23 or 3.4% were non-Papago Indians.

000 All these groups are minorities within wider American society. They contributed about 9 of every 10 cotton pickers in Pima county in 1950. They added up to a clear numerical majority over Anglo-American harvesters, farmers, and businessmen in the rural farm areas—but the Anglos retained all their dominant social and economic position. Anglo harvesters were less than half as numerous as the smallest non-Anglo picking group in the county, the Indians.[1]

PINAL COUNTY

The ethnic picture in Pinal county looks quite different. There Anglos have a slight edge over Spanish-speaking cotton pickers, with each group making up just over three-fourths of the total labor force.[2] This meant that minority groups probably comprised a majority of the inhabitants of the Pinal farming areas during the 1950 harvest season, but their numerical dominance was not nearly so great as in Pima county.

Negroes were somewhat more than half as numerous as Anglos and Spanish-speakers in Pinal county.[3] Papago Indians were the least numerous ethnic group among Pinal county pickers. [464 162] The tribe vied with Negroes according to data of this study,[4] but the smallness of the sample obtained and the great likelihood that it contained proportionately too many Papagos suggests the actual number of Papagos in the county is perhaps one-tenth of the whole picking force. Indians of other tribes were an almost negligible quantity in Pinal county, only about 1 picker out of 100 being a non-Papago Indian.[5]

PAPAGOS

464 125 Because of shortcomings of the sample from which the proportions of the four ethnic groups were derived, it would be well to have another basis for estimating the number of Papagos picking cotton in 1950. This can be done with other data gathered in this study.

It was possible to find out the number of Papagos employed on a good many farms where it was not possible to obtain an ethnic breakdown of the whole picking crew.

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[1] Based on 678 hands, of whom 55 or 8.1% were Anglos.

[2] Based on 1229 hands of known ethnic group, of whom 400 or 32.6% were Anglos; 383 or 31.2% were Spanish-speaking.

[3] Based on 1229 hands, of whom 217 or 17.7% were Negroes.

[4] Based on 1229 hands, of whom 211 or 17.2% were Papagos.

[5] Based on 1229 hands, of whom 18 or 1½% were Indians of tribes other than Papago.

464 162 125 For this reason, 471 Papagos were found at work in the cotton fields. Some other farms were found to employ Papagos, but numbers could not be ascertained. At any rate, the 471 Desert People were 8.85% of all 5,319 pickers counted in this study. This may be accepted as a valid minimum proportion, since it does not include some farms where Papagos worked where the total number of pickers was obtained, but not the number of Papagos. A total of 536 Indians of all tribes were found on this same basis among 5,319 pickers counted in this study, or 10.1%. Correcting the propotion to allow for the unknown numbers of Papagos at work might mean 10% of the pickers actually were Desert People, with all Indians making up 12% or 13%.

464 162 128 The velidity of this guess may be checked. In Appendix I it was estimated Pima county hired 2,858 pickers, or which number 10% is 286 Papagos. The 121 Papagos in the ethnic sample in Pima county worked on 13 farms, which were 61.9% of Pima county farms hiring Desert People. If other farms hired proportionate numbers, 196 were hired on farms studied. These included 70% of the Pima county cotton planting, so all farms in the county planting cotton should have hired some 280 Papagos. This is within 6 of the 286 figure (10% of the estimated total of pickers) so the two estimates are very close, indicating accuracy.

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NUMBER OF PAPAGO COTTON PICKERS, 1950

		Papago pickers (8.85%)	Papagos off-res. (x 2.3)	Papago pickers (10%)	Off-reserva.
Pickers needed per day to harvest Pinal-Pima county crop in 96 days	16,095	1,424	3,275	1,610	3,703
Average number of pickers hired per day, Oct.-Dec. (ASES data)	19,251	1,704	3,919	1,925	4,428
Average pickers hired per day Oct.-Dec. (Data of this study)	19,764	1,749	4,023	1,976	4,545
Peak number of pickers hired per day in any week. (ASES data)	22,149	1,959	4,496	2,214	5,092

On the basis of these figures it seems safe to say at least 1,700 Papagos picked cotton in 1950. And this meant some 3,750 Desert People lived in farm labor camps off their reservations. But the most likely estimate appears to be approximately 2,000 Papagos harvested cotton and about 4,500 in all lived in labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties in 1950.

[P.136 contains no textual material]

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[The classification of various types of data by political districts within the main Papago reservation has been marked for category 634.]

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[For the author's predictions and projections on the future of Papago migratory farm labor (employment and wage levels, recruiting and labor relations, labor camp living conditions and sanitary facilities) in view of probable technological and economic changes in regional commercial agriculture, see category 116, pp. 99-135.]